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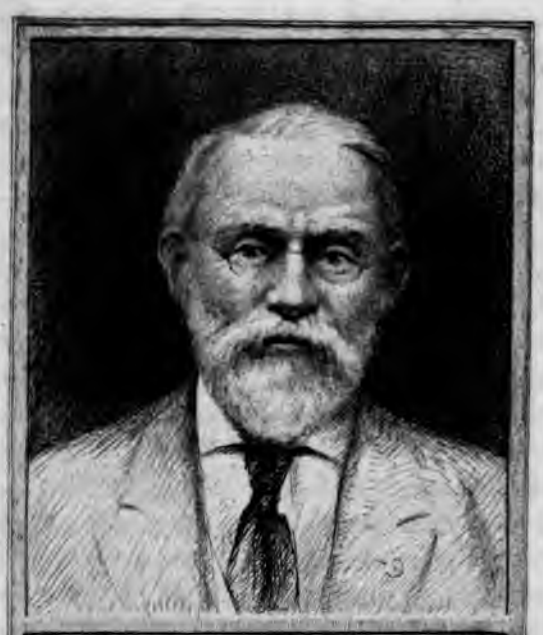

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The Transactions

of the Honourable

Society of Cymmrodorion.

SESSION 1896–97.

LONDON:
ISSUED BY THE SOCIETY,
NEW STONE BUILDINGS, 64, CHANCERY LANE.
1898.

President:—The Most Hon. the Marquess of Bute, K.T.

THE HONOURABLE SOCIETY OF CYMMRODORION, originally founded under Royal patronage in 1751, was revived in 1873, with the object of bringing into closer contact Welshmen, particularly those resident out of Wales, who are anxious to advance the welfare of their country; and of enabling them to unite their efforts for that purpose. Its especial aims are the improvement of Education, and the promotion of intellectual culture by the encouragement of Literature, Science, and Art, as connected with Wales.

Meetings of the Society are held in London during the Spring and Summer months, for the Reading of Papers on Literary, Scientific, and Artistic subjects, and for the discussion of practical questions within the scope of the Society's aims. A Series of Meetings is annually held in Wales in connection with the National Eisteddfod, under the name of "THE CYMMRODORION SECTION", to promote the consideration of Educational, Literary, and Social Questions affecting the Principality. It was from these meetings that the "NATIONAL EISTEDDFOD ASSOCIATION", the "SOCIETY OF WELSH MUSICIANS", and the "SOCIETY FOR UTILISING THE WELSH LANGUAGE" sprang: the latter being the outcome of the inquiries instituted by the Society of Cymmrodorion in 1884 and 1885.

The Society's collection of books, formed by the bequests of the late Joseph Edwards and the late Henry Davies, and by subsequent donations and purchases, is open to the use of Members as a Lending Library.

Subscription to the Society, entitling to copies of all its publications, and admission to all meetings:—One Guinea per annum.

Application for membership should be addressed to the Secretary, E. Vincent Evans, New Stone Buildings, 64, Chancery Lane, London, W.C.

LIST OF THE SOCIETY'S PUBLICATIONS.

Y Cymmrodor, Vols. ii, iv, v, vi, vii, viii, ix, x, xi, xii, 10*s.* 6*d.* per volume. [Vols. i and iii are out of print.]

The History of the Cymmrodorion. Out of print.

A Dictionary in Englyshe and Welshe, by Wyllyam Salesbury (1547). Facsimile, black letter. 4 parts, 2*s.* 6*d.* each.

The Gododin of Aneurin Gwawdrydd, by Thomas Stephens, Author of *The Literature of the Kymry.* 6 parts, 2*s.* 6*d.* each.

An Essay on Pennillion Singing (Hanes ac Henafiaeth Canu Gyda'r Tannau), by J. Jones (*Idris Vychan*). 1 part, 2*s.* 6*d.*

Ystorya de Carolo Magno (from the "Red Book of Hergest"). 1 part, 2*s.* 6*d.*

Athravaeth Gristnogavl (from the unique copy belonging to the late Prince Louis Lucien Bonaparte, originally printed at Milan, A.D. 1568). 1 part, 2*s.* 6*d.*

The Blessednes of Brytaine, by Maurice Kyffin (1587). 1 part, 1*s.* 6*d.*

Gerald the Welshman, by Henry Owen, B.C.L. Oxon., F.S.A. Demy 8vo., vellum cloth, gilt, 10*s.*

The Description of Pembrokeshire, by George Owen of Henllys. Edited by Henry Owen, B.C.L. Oxon., F.S.A. Being No. 1 of the *Cymmrodorion Record Series.* 2 parts, 21*s.* Issued free to Members of the Society, by the Editor.

The Court Rolls of the Lordship of Ruthin or Dyffryn-Clwyd, of the Reign of King Edward the First, preserved in the Public Record Office. Edited, with Translations, Notes, etc., by R. Arthur Roberts, of H.M. Public Record Office. Being No. 2 of the *Cymmrodorion Record Series.* Price 21*s.* Issued free to Members of the Society.

The Transactions of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion (Sessions, 1892-93, 1893-94, 1894-95, 1895-96, 1896-97).

Gweithiau Iolo Goch: Gyda Nodiadau Hanesyddol a Beirniadol, gan Charles Ashton. The Works of Iolo Goch. Price 10*s.* 6*d.*

To be obtained on application to the Secretary, at the Cymmrodorion Library, 64, Chancery Lane, London, W.C.

THE

TRANSACTIONS

OF

THE HONOURABLE

SOCIETY OF CYMMRODORION.

SESSION 1896–97.

LONDON :

ISSUED BY THE SOCIETY,

NEW STONE BUILDINGS, 64, CHANCERY LANE.

1898.

DEVIZES:
PRINTED BY GEO. SIMPSON.

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CONTENTS.

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL FOR 1896–97 v

STATEMENT OF RECEIPTS AND PAYMENTS FOR 1896–97 ... xiii

OFFICERS, COUNCIL, AND MEMBERS OF THE SOCIETY, 1897–98 xiv

Music in Wales. By JOSEPH BENNETT 1

Domestic and Decorative Art in Wales. By THOMAS E. ELLIS, M.P. 14

Suggestions as to the Fuller Study of Owen Glyndwr. By "OWEN RHOSCOMYL" 34

Observations on "Owen Rhoscomyl's" Paper, by HUBERT HALL, F.S.A., *Director of the Royal Historical Society* 47

Postscript by "OWEN RHOSCOMYL" 56

Recent Developments in Welsh Education. By Rev. G. HARTWELL JONES, M.A. 59

Illustrations to Mr. Thomas E. Ellis's Paper on Domestic and Decorative Art in Wales, and Notes thereon, by ROBERT WILLIAMS, F.R.I.B.A. 81

REPORT

OF

THE COUNCIL OF THE

Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion,

For the Year ending November 9th, 1897,

PRESENTED TO THE ANNUAL MEETING, HELD ON THURSDAY, 18th OF NOVEMBER, 1897.

IN reviewing the history of the Society for the past twelve months the Council cannot but mark with the deepest sorrow and regret the irremediable losses sustained through the removal by death of so many of its distinguished members. Rarely indeed has any Society suffered such grievous misfortunes from this cause as have fallen to the lot of the Cymmrodorion during the last year. From the ranks of its Vice-Presidents no less than five have been called away. A year that sees the removal of such distinguished examples of Welsh learning and Welsh patriotism as the Right Rev. Dr. Basil-Jones, the late Lord Bishop of St. David's, the Very Rev. Dr. Vaughan, the scholarly Dean of Llandaff, the Venerable Archdeacon Griffith of Neath, His Honour Judge Lewis, and the Right Hon. Sir George Osborne Morgan, cannot but be sadly memorable in our annals. From amongst our members we have also lost many who have played no mean a part in the development of the national life of Wales, including Mrs. Thomas, Ysguborwen, Mr. Milo Griffith, a sculptor of high merit, once a member of this Council, the Rev. Llewelyn Thomas, M.A., of Jesus College, Oxford, Dr. Gomer Davies, Mr.

Alderman Hughes, of Liverpool, Mr. Deputy Hughes, of Finsbury Circus, the Rev. John Evans *(Eglwysbach)*, one of the foremost of Welsh preachers, and Mr. Francis T. Palgrave, one of the most delightful of writers, and the author of the deeply-interesting "Memoir of Henry Vaughan", which appeared not so very long ago in the pages of *Y Cymmrodor*. Through these and other bereavements the Society has sustained wounds which will take very many years to heal.

In the face of such loss and sorrow, it is gratifying to be able to announce that the interest in the Society's work, and the support extended to it by those concerned for the welfare and progress of Welsh Literature, continues unabated. The number of new members added to the Society during the past year was 40. Mr. Egerton Phillimore, in recognition of his most eminent services to Welsh Literature, has been elected an Honorary Member of the Society.

During the year the following meetings were held:—

In London:—

1897.

January 14.—Paper on "Music in Wales", by Mr. Joseph Bennett. Chairman, Mr. John Thomas *(Pencerdd Gwalia)*, Harpist to Her Majesty the Queen.

March 10.—Address on "Domestic and Decorative Art in Wales", by Mr. Thomas E. Ellis, M.P. Chairman, Dr. Isambard Owen, M.A., Senior Deputy Chancellor of the University of Wales.

May 12.—Paper containing "Some Suggestions for the Better Study of Owen Glyndwr", by "Owen Rhoscomyl", author of *Battlement and Tower*. Chairman, Mr. Hubert Hall, F.S.A., Hon. Secretary of the Royal Historical Society.

July 17.—GARDEN PARTY given by the President and the Marchioness of Bute at St. John's Lodge, Regent's Park.

In Wales:—

At the Town Hall, Newport (Mon.), in connection with the National Eisteddfod of Wales, 1897 (Cymmrodorion Section):—

Aug. 2, 1897.—Address on "Recent Developments in Welsh Education", by the Rev. G. Hartwell Jones, M.A., Rector of Nutfield. Chairman, the Mayor of Newport (Mr. Alderman Goldsworthy).

Aug. 4, 1897.—Joint Meeting with the Society for the Utilization of the Welsh Language. Paper on "The Place of Welsh in Education", by Professor W. Lewis Jones, M.A., Bangor.

The arrangements for the coming Session include papers by Dr. Henry Hicks, President of the Royal Geological Society, Madame Mary Owen (Mrs. Ellis Griffith) who will give an Illustrative Paper on "The Evolution of Welsh Music", assisted by Mr. John Thomas *(Pencerdd Gwalia)*, Mr. Alfred W. Palmer (who will read one of his important contributions to Welsh Local History), Mr. J. H. Davies, M.A., Mr. Ernest Rhys, and Mr. John Ballinger, of the Cardiff Free Library.

It affords the Council special gratification to announce that the Rev. S. Baring-Gould, M.A., the distinguished writer and antiquary, who has recently become a member of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion, and who is now engaged in studying the Hut Circles and Hill Castles, or *Caerau*, of South Wales, and comparing them with similar structures in Devon and Cornwall, has promised to read a paper before the Society on this most interesting subject in the course of next year.

It is proposed to hold the Annual Dinner of the Society at the Hôtel Métropole on Monday, the 13th of December, and the Council have great pleasure in making known that a distinguished Welshman, the Right Hon. Lord Justice Vaughan-Williams, has accepted an invitation to preside on the occasion.

During the year the volume of *Transactions* for the Session 1895-96 was issued. It contains the following papers, viz. :—An Address on

The Historical Importance of the Cymric Tribal System, by Dr. Frederic Seebohm.

The Development of the Agricultural Resources of Wales, by Mr. Tom Parry.

Early Relations between Gael and Brython, by Professor Kuno Meyer.

Cymru Fu: Some Contemporary Statements, by Mr. R. Arthur Roberts, together with a

Transcript of one of the Minister's Accounts preserved in the Public Record Office.

The long-delayed Vol. xii of *Y Cymmrodor* is, the Council are happy to say, now ready for issue. It contains an important contribution to the History of

The Court of the President and Council of Wales and the Marches, from 1478 *to* 1575, by the late Judge David Lewis.

Notes on Offa's and Wat's Dykes, by Mr. Alfred Neobard Palmer.

A Paper on *Celtic Art, with a Suggestion of a Scheme for the Better Preservation and Freer Study of the Monuments of the Early Christian Church in Wales*, by Mr. T. H. Thomas, R.C.A.

And an Obituary of the late Judge Lewis, by one of his former Colleagues on the Council.

The Council desire to acknowledge their deep indebtedness to their late Editor, Mr. Phillimore, who edited and annotated all the contents of this volume, and prepared it for the press. All the longer and many of the shorter notes to the late Judge David Lewis' paper were written by Mr. Phillimore, though through inadvertence the word Ed. has not been appended to them. He is also the author of the notes signed Ed. in Mr. T. H. Thomas' paper.

The *Transactions* of the Society for the Session 1896-97 are now being printed, and will shortly be published. They contain the whole of the Sessional Papers read at the Meetings recorded in the earlier part of this report. Those who listened with so much interest to Mr. Alfred Nutt's paper on "The Arthur and Mongan Legend" in a previous Session, will be glad to know that it is included in the two valuable Essays contributed by Mr. Nutt to the Edition of

"The Voyage of Bran, the Son of Febal", published in the Grimm Library Series by Mr. David Nutt.

It is with a sense of lively gratitude that the Council find themselves enabled to announce the completion of Part II of *Owen's Pembrokeshire*, being No. 1 of the "Cymmrodorion Record Series". With the same generosity as characterised the issue of the First Part, Mr. Henry Owen has again placed at the disposal of the Council a sufficient number of Part II to enable them to give a free copy of the work to any member who may choose to apply for it. The work entailed in the preparation and the publication of these two parts, at his own personal expense, and his free gift of copies to all the members of the Society of Cymmrodorion has placed the Society under a heavier obligation to Mr. Henry Owen (who is at once the projector, the editor, and the publisher of *Owen's Pembrokeshire*) than the Council will attempt to express. They learn with the deepest satisfaction that Mr. Owen proposes to continue his invaluable labours in connection with the history of his native county. It should, however, be understood that future parts of the *Pembrokeshire* are not included in Mr. Henry Owen's present to the Society, but they will be supplied to such members as may desire to have them on reduced terms, as was the case with a former book, viz., *Gerald the Welshman*, issued by the same writer.

Progress is being made with the printing of *The Black Book of St. David's*, under the editorship of Mr. Willis Bund, and it has been decided to issue the proposed editions of *Nennius* and *Gildas* as numbers of the "Cymmrodorion Record Series". Amongst other material in hand for immediate publication is a scholarly collation by Professor Kuno Meyer (based upon a collation originally made by Mr. Whitley Stokes), of the Latin and Welsh

texts of the *Lives of the Cambro-British Saints*, with the original MSS.

The Volume xii of *Y Cymmrodor*, to which reference has been made, will close a *First Series* of that publication. Arrangements have been made for carrying on the publication under the control and supervision of an Editorial Committee, consisting of

Principal Rhys (Chairman).
Mr. Henry Owen (Vice-Chairman).
Mr. Alfred Nutt.
Mr. Edward Owen.
Mr. Willis Bund, and
Mr. E. Vincent Evans (Secretary).

It is not proposed to interfere with the present method of publishing the *Transactions*, but the *Cymmrodor* will be reserved for the publication of Texts and other new material, and for expert scholarly discussion upon certain well-defined aspects of Welsh Literature and Welsh Archæology—using that word in its widest sense.

The Council desire to record their special thanks to the Marquess of Bute (President of the Society), and the Marchioness of Bute, for the most generous and hospitable manner in which they entertained the members at their London residence at the close of the last Session.

The members will note, probably with satisfaction, that the Society has now secured commodious and convenient premises for the holding of the meetings of the Council, and for the storing of the Society's property. They are indebted to Mr. Stephen Evans (Chairman of the Council), Dr. Alfred Daniell, Mr. W. Cadwaladr Davies, and Mr. T. Marchant Williams, for the trouble they have taken in putting an end to the homeless condition of the Society.

The Council, on behalf of the members, had pleasure in joining in the National congratulations to Her Majesty the Queen on the completion of sixty years of her glorious

reign, and they had the satisfaction of being informed that their Address of Congratulation had been very graciously received by Her Majesty.

During the year the Council have been able to add a considerable number of Welsh books, and books relating to Wales, to the Library, and they have pleasure in stating that one of their number, Dr. Alfred Daniell, has kindly undertaken to prepare a catalogue of all the books belonging to the Society. In this connection they would appeal to the members for contributions in kind to the Library. They are particularly anxious to obtain sets of the

Archæologia Cambrensis,
The Montgomeryshire Collections,
The Red Dragon,
Y Traethodydd,
Y Geninen,
Y Llenor,
Cymru,

and other such like periodical publications. The Council desire to acknowledge the following presents received for the Library:—

The Laws of Wales, by Hubert Lewis, presented by the publisher (Mr. Elliot Stock), on the recommendation of Professor Lloyd, of Bangor.

The Voyage of Bran the Son of Febal, edited by Professor Kuno Meyer, Vol. ii, presented by Mr. Alfred Nutt.

Bye-Gones, presented by Messrs. Woodall, Minshall, & Co.

Under the Society's Rules, the term of office of the following Officers expires, viz.:—

The President.
The Vice-Presidents.
The Auditors.

And 10 Members of the Council retire in accordance with Rule 4, viz.:—

Mr. Stephen Evans.
Mr. W. Cadwaladr Davies.
Mr. W. E. Davies.

Mr. E. Vincent Evans.
Mr. William Evans.
Mr. Ellis Jones Griffith.
Mr. W. Tudor Howell.
Rev. G. Hartwell Jones.
Mr. Alfred Nutt.
Mr. Edward Owen.

These members are eligible for re-election, and no other cause of vacancy has arisen since the last meeting.

The Statement of Receipts and Payments for the year, duly audited and certified, is submitted herewith.

THE HONOURABLE SOCIETY OF CYMMRODORION.

Statement of Receipts and Payments.

From 9th November, 1896, to 9th November, 1897.

Dr. *Cr.*

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
To Balance in hand, November 9th, 1896 ...	58	5	5	By Rent, Hire of Lecture Room, Insurance, &c.	45	18	9
„ Subscriptions received	414	13	7	„ Printing *Transactions* 1896, o/a *Cymmrodor* Vol xii, and Balance re *Iolo Goch* ...	177	6	11
„ Publications sold	23	4	5	„ Postage and Carriage of Publications ...	9	17	0
				„ General Printing	17	16	6
				„ Lectures, Meetings, and Conversazione ...	19	10	6
				„ Eisteddfod Section Expenses	7	10	0
				„ Stationery, Postage, and Petty Expenses ...	29	15	0
				„ Library Expenses, Books, Furniture, &c. ...	74	5	9
				„ Secretary's Remuneration	50	0	0
				„ Commission on Publications Sold and Subscriptions	17	8	0
				„ Balance in hand	46	15	0
	£496	3	5		£496	3	5

Examined and found correct,

JOHN BURRELL, ELLIS W. DAVIES, *Auditors.*

H. LLOYD ROBERTS, *Treasurer.*
E. VINCENT EVANS, *Secretary.*

THE

Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion,

FOR THE ENCOURAGEMENT OF

Literature, Science, and Art, as connected with Wales.

OFFICERS, COUNCIL, AND MEMBERS OF THE SOCIETY, 1897–98.

(*Corrected to 1st March*, 1898.)

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The Right Hon. The Earl of Powis.
The Right Rev. The Lord Bishop of Llandaff.
The Right Rev. The Lord Bishop of St. Asaph.
The Right Rev. The Lord Bishop of Bangor.
The Right Rev. The Lord Bishop of St. David's (*deceased*).
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The Archdeacon of Llandaff (*deceased*).
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His Honour Judge Parry.
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TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion.

SESSION 1896-97.

MUSIC IN WALES.[1]

BY

JOSEPH BENNETT.

A FEW years ago I had the honour of reading, before the members of this Society, a paper on the same subject as that which I now offer to your attention. I then laid stress upon the importance of promoting the study of instrumental music in Wales. This attracted a great deal of attention, and some steps were taken towards the establishment of a National Musical Association, charged with the task of organising the resources of the Principality, with a view to widen and deepen its musical culture. The attempt came to nothing. Its energy soon faded away, and matters reverted to their former state. I shall not take up any of your time with speculations as to the reason of this collapse, since it is more important to look present facts in the face, and consider what may now be done—in a different manner, perhaps, but with the old object in view.

[1] Paper read before the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion at No. 20, Hanover Square, on Thursday, the 14th of January, 1897; Chairman, Mr. John Thomas (*Pencerdd Gwalia*), Harpist to Her Majesty the Queen.

In the paper to which reference has been made, I, while advocating the establishment of a National Musical Association, recognised the value of the Eisteddfod as an agent in promoting musical culture. On this occasion, a separate and independent organisation being apparently impossible, I shall ask you to consider with me whether Eisteddfodic procedure can be better adapted than it is to meet the needs of the time.

On the face of it, and having regard to the conditions of modern progress, we are encouraged to conclude, even without investigation, that usages which have remained unchanged for many years must needs, in an age of advance, have fallen behind. My acquaintance with the Eisteddfod in its musical aspect extends over thirty years, and I am bound to say that its procedure now is—unless memory has played me a sorry trick—pretty much what it was in 1867. There are the same competitions, on the same subjects, and carried on under the same conditions. Meanwhile the needs of the art, as a popular study, have greatly increased, its standards have been everywhere raised, and its methods, as well as the principles upon which the methods are based, have changed. Is the old machinery capable, as it now stands, of dealing with so much that is new in material? General experience makes us pause before answering this question in the affirmative. It points, indeed, with resolute finger, to a negative reply.

I have good reason to believe that the need of reform is widely felt among Welshmen of education and culture. Many letters have reached me from such persons, all of them expressing a more or less earnest conviction that the musical section of the Eisteddfod should be made to do better work than at present, and that both the character and method of its competitions are capable of great improvement.

If I may take this as indicating a growing opinion among the leaders of Welsh thought, the prospect is distinctly bright. In some cases, however, I hear a note not so much of reform as of revolution. The whole system of competition is now and then denounced, and I know at least one efficient choir in Wales which resolutely abstains from it, believing that more good is done by careful practice of choice music with a view to concert-giving. My own opinion is that competition is a very valuable feature in the musical procedure of Wales. We do without it almost entirely in England, and, on the whole, prosper without it, but consider how different are the circumstances. In Wales the competitive system is that upon which the educational influence of its most venerable institution is based. The Welsh people delight in it, as all who have attended an Eisteddfod well know, and I have yet to discover signs that they would be likely to give it up under any conceivable circumstances. For good or for evil, Eisteddfod music is competitive music, and so it will remain. Why should it not be altogether for good? If there be a weak point, strengthen it; if the machinery creak and jar, carefully oil the bearings; if any part of it seem ill-adapted to new requirements, take it away, and replace with better. This, as it seems to me, is the safest course, because the most progressive within the limits of a wise conservatism.

Here I reach a very practical consideration, and the first suggestion which I have to offer.

I have not hastily formed an opinion that the constitution of the Eisteddfod, in its musical section, is defective as regards the power which controls it.

When the highest authority of the institution has chosen a place of meeting, all musical arrangements are, as I understand it, left in the hands of a local Committee,

made up of more or less influential persons, known to have sympathy with the art, and, in many cases, to possess some knowledge of it. No one exceeds myself in admiration of the zeal and devotion which the musical committees of the Eisteddfod bring to their work. All praise to them for what they have done in the past, and what they are still doing with, if possible, augmenting earnestness. But, for the most part, the members are persons engaged in business, whose acquaintance with musical necessities is limited, perhaps, to those of their own immediate neighbourhood, and who in few cases, I imagine, keep touch with the general advance of music. This being so, the more conscientious a committee is, the more it is likely to distrust its own initiative, and the more disposed to fashion its procedure upon the usage of the past. May not this explain—to some extent at any rate—the unenterprising, almost changeless character of musical doings on the Eisteddfod platform? I have reason to believe that the Committees themselves often feel the disadvantage under which they labour, and it is not an uncommon thing for members to seek advice from persons who, as they suppose, are qualified to give it.

What can be done in this matter? Nothing, I venture to say, that shall deprive the local Committee of its power and responsibility. That body must still be supreme, but it may be counselled, and my suggestion is that the National Eisteddfod Association should appoint a distinct and independent advisory board, made up of persons in Wales and England whose musical knowledge and ability command general respect. This Board should simply act as "honorary standing counsel", giving its advice when the local Committee asks for it, and at such times and places as may be convenient. The Committee of 1899, for example, might meet the Advisory Board at the Eisteddfod

of 1898 and there discuss with them plans and projects. This reform, be it observed, would displace no authority, and create none. It would simply bring to the executive body all the experience and wisdom of experts and place it at their disposal. I am very sure that Committees are ready to take advice, and a case in point, to which I shall refer presently, came under my observation only the other day. A body somewhat like that suggested above does already exist, I am informed, but I am not sufficiently acquainted with its constitution to be able to say how far it meets my idea.

I pass on to another matter—a somewhat delicate one, because it touches, on one side, the amenities of competition. Dealing with this, it shall be my earnest endeavour to avoid offence, and my resolute purpose to speak with plainness and directness.

When attending musical competitions in Wales, I have often had to notice the curiously strong, not to say bitter, feeling they excite. Welshmen are generally credited with keen susceptibility and quick tempers, but, assuming the truth of this, and making allowance for it, there remains much feeling not accounted for. We must not, of course, expect the calmness of a philosopher from the average man who is smarting under defeat. In most cases he will relieve his mind somehow, and, as a rule, he does it by putting forward evidence to prove that he has been beaten through the operation of causes beyond his own control. But it too often happens that an unsuccessful Welsh choir will adopt the ethics of some football crowds and "take it out of" the adjudicators. The ridiculous absurdity of this course never seems to be perceived—for ridiculous absurdity it is when a competitor accepts a judge before the verdict, and repudiates him after it. I have met with various grotesque cases in

the course of my Eisteddfodic experience, but will mention only the recent conduct of a well-known choir, which declined to sing before certain adjudicators on the plea that, at a meeting held not long before, when the choir was unsuccessful, those gentlemen and their colleagues refused a detailed statement of the reasons which led to their decision. Nobody, I imagine, disputes the right of a choir to accept or reject an adjudicator, or, having rejected him, to keep its motive to itself. But when a cause is assigned, let it at any rate be adequate; let there be some force in it; let it show, on the face of it, some sort of ground for an action of gravity. I will not dwell further on this point. It is notorious that Eisteddfodic contests are often a source of bitterness and ill-will.

How can this arise out of a peaceful competition in the harmonious region of music? A competition taking place among bodies of men and women who are supposed to be one in love of their art, and in agreement that reward properly belongs to highest excellence, wherever it may appear. Other elements must enter into the case, grosser in character and appealing to lower instincts. What are they? I cannot take upon myself to answer positively, but in this connexion I should like to see a change in the form and character of Eisteddfod prizes. Some of these prizes, especially at the national meetings, are of considerable value, rising as high as £200, which goes in the form of money to the winning choir. It is a sum large enough to arouse cupidity; to invest a contest with something like the excitement of gambling for a high stake, and to make its loss felt far more keenly than failure in point of musical merit. Those of us who know anything of human nature cannot but incline to the belief that were money prizes abolished, large sums especially, both competitions and competitors would gain in all qualities

that make not only for peace and good-will but for dignity and manliness.

I am expected, no doubt, to show a better way of rewarding merit. In that, as it seems to me, there is no difficulty. An ideal arrangement might be brought back from the far-away past of ancient Greece, and we might offer to crown successful competitors with a wreath of wild parsley. It is not likely, however, that they would appreciate the honours which satisfied the most cultured people the world has ever known. Nothing if not practical in this paper, I suggest that Wales and her sympathisers should provide a national challenge trophy, to be competed for each year, like the Elcho Shield, and, by the winning choir in the great choral struggle, to be handed over, with all convenient pomp and ceremony to the custody of the Mayor, or other local authority, of the place from which the successful competitors come. In addition to this the costs out of pocket of the winning choir should be paid by the Eisteddfod committee. By an arrangement of this kind there would be no pecuniary loss, and plenty of honourable distinction, which should satisfy every reasonable man.

I would carry the same process through the whole range of minor prizes, eliminating the money element, and offering equivalent rewards in scholarships, free private instruction, instruments, and volumes of music, etc. Every prize would thus be not only a personal reward and recognition, but a means of working up to higher excellence, instead of melting in the hand of the recipient and leaving nothing behind.

It may be said—probably it will be said—that an Eisteddfod worked upon the plan just laid down would find itself without musical competitors. I do not think so badly of Welsh amateurs as to believe anything of the

kind. It may be that some sordid souls would seek a cave of Adullam and retire into it grumbling, but the vast majority would appreciate the healthiness of the change, and fresh adherents would, no doubt, come forward, attracted by the enhanced dignity of Eisteddfod procedure. If, however, it should turn out that Welsh musical competitors are mere cheque-hunters, using their art as a means to the end of material gain, knowledge of so portentous a fact seems to me worth buying at considerable sacrifice. Loss sustained in a process of disillusion is often really an excellent investment.

I turn to another matter—one of purely musical importance, and on that account, perhaps, to be considered the most earnestly.

From communications I have received, both through speech and in writing, I gather that some dissatisfaction exists with the present method of selecting music for study, particularly in the choral competitions. The rule is to choose two or three pieces—a chorus, a part song, and so on—and virtually ask the competitors to concentrate their energies within that limited area, during many months of the year. I can imagine no more wasteful and extravagant plan, and I am prepared to dispute its alleged value at every point.

Mark, in the first place, how it tends to limit musical knowledge, which, under another method of procedure, might be extended year by year in a material degree. How much the better is a choir which has spent six months in getting up a chorus and a part song?

It is something the better, no doubt, because all knowledge is good, even a small amount of it, and, of course, the two or three chosen pieces serve as texts for lessons in vocal skill. But consider the waste involved. I declare to you that when the great choirs which competed at

Llandudno came, one after the other, upon the platform, each with its three pieces of music, the knowledge that so much time, energy, and skill, had been expended comparatively to so little purpose made me profoundly sad. Something more than waste of time and opportunity results from the present system. Imagine the deadening effect of constant working at two or three pieces; the liability to come up for the struggle in the condition known among sporting people as "stale", and the temptation which conductors must feel to vary the monotony of practice by fancy readings, and an excess of what may be described as mechanical devices! My suggestion as to a remedy for all this is not now put forward for the first time, inasmuch as it had the honour of being discussed at a meeting of this Society held in Llandudno last year.

Now, as then, I propose that musical committees should name a complete work of convenient dimensions, but always of high character; all the choral numbers in that work to be prepared by the competing choirs, and the adjudicators to declare, just before the contest, what selections from them they wish to hear performed. The advantages of such a plan seem to me strikingly obvious. In the first place, the choirs engaged would master the concerted music of a complete composition and be ready to take part in its performance, either at a concert of their own, or in the service of the Eisteddfod. That is a distinct gain as compared with knowledge of mere fragments, or of such comparatively insignificant things as part songs. In the next place, the choirs, having a larger and more varied task by way of preparation, would find increased interest in their training. Moreover—and this is a point of the greatest importance—the plan I advocate would break through one of the limitations which belong, as I conceive, to Eisteddfodic procedure.

I am happy to know that, in view of the Eisteddfod at Festiniog next year, the musical committee have virtually decided upon adopting the suggestion now made, and this is the case to which I referred just now when declaring my belief that Committees generally would be glad to take counsel with competent advisers as regards measures of reform and improvement.

I spoke, a moment ago, of limitations in Eisteddfodic procedure, and the matter thus indicated is worthy of full consideration. At present I can only discuss it briefly, beginning with the expression of an opinion that music in Wales suffers generally from limitations, which ought as promptly as possible to be removed. I will tell you exactly what I consider them to be.

One of those limitations is found in the unduly preponderating study of vocal music as compared with instrumental. Observe that I say "*unduly* preponderating". Wales is a nation of singers. Singing is, in a special degree, the natural expression of Welsh feeling, and there is no reason at all why we should seek to rob it of that character. But vocal music is only a section of the art which everyone of us desires to see flourish as a whole in the Principality, and for the completeness of which—for the purpose of obtaining from it all the benefits it can confer—there should be proportionate cultivation of instrumental music. I have laboured this point before, others have done the same, and I am right glad to say that the beginning of a change for the better is perceptible. But it is, as yet, only a small beginning, and progress is slow. We must have patience, and not conceal from ourselves the fact that there are obstacles in the way. A nation is not easily diverted from the old ruts in which it has long run smoothly and contentedly. Moreover, the study of instrumental music involves difficulties. In-

struments are costly; instruction in the use of some of them is not always readily obtainable, and opportunities of association for combined performance do not everywhere present themselves.

The Eisteddfod should help by every means in its power. It should offer strong inducements to the study of instrumental art—among them the distribution, as prizes, of good instruments and good music, with free tuition, as far as it may be available. It should, also, take care that competent students benefit by any engagements which, as a concert-giving institution, the Eisteddfod has to offer. In this way something might be done towards making possible the fully equipped Welsh orchestras which I trust I shall live to see, and to hear which I am prepared to journey to the farthest bounds of the Principality.

Another limitation is connected with the Tonic Sol-fa system. Let not my Tonic Sol-fa friends be excited at this. I was an early, if not a conspicuous adherent to their cause; in long-past years I taught it as well as I was able, and, if circumstances indicated such a course, I should be prepared to teach it again. Music-lovers in this country owe more to Tonic Sol-fa, as an agent of artistic progress among the people at large, than they can ever pay.

But the system, with its beautiful completeness for vocal purposes, and with its easy opening of the doors of the temple where music sits enthroned, has the defect of its qualities. We must look at Tonic Sol-fa not as at itself alone, but with regard to the universal art. The system, after all the good it has done, is but sectional, and sectional, if one may venture upon prophecy, it will remain. But as a first stage towards the higher knowledge and culture—towards full participation in the universal musical life—Tonic Sol-fa is invaluable.

I fear, however, that the musical people in Wales regard the first stage, so easily and pleasantly reached, as satisfying all their needs. No musician will agree to that. It means incompleteness; it means that the vast treasures of music which have not been, or may not conveniently be, translated into the written language of Tonic Sol-fa, must remain for ever inaccessible, and it certainly means that all who are so content are no wiser than the Welshman who, if such there be, remains satisfied with his native speech, and refuses to learn the world-wide tongue in which I am now addressing you.

I believe that the promoters of Tonic Sol-fa rejoice as much as any of us to see their people carry study into what is called the "old notation". They desire this, unless I much mistake them, and therefore would encourage any steps taken to excite among their Welsh followers a "divine discontent" with what has already been accomplished. Here, also, the Eisteddfod can do good service, by offering suitable prizes for knowledge and skill, especially for excellence in sight-singing, which, whether in Tonic Sol-fa or the "old notation", should be encouraged much more than it is. I know that few candidates appear when sight-singing is the test, but that is an additional reason for keeping the matter within the range of public attention.

If I revert for a moment to the limitation imposed by the present choice of works for competition, it is to point out that even under the system now in vogue more might be done to extend knowledge and taste. Again and again are the same choruses and part-songs chosen; Eisteddfod music thus far goes round and round in a narrow circle, and there is movement without real progress.

"Enough is as good as a feast," and I have ventured upon a sufficient number of suggestions for one sitting. Let me recapitulate them:—

First, the establishment in connexion with the National Eisteddfod, of an Advisory Board, which may be consulted by the local musical committee at pleasure.

Second, the abolition of money prizes, as far as possible, and the substitution in most cases of rewards directly musical in their nature.

Third, the substitution for fragmentary pieces, in choral competitions, of an entire choral work, any part of which competitors may be called upon to perform.

Fourth, all possible encouragement of efficiency in reading the "old notation".

Sixth, steady and constant effort in every way to enlarge the scope of musical study by the people.

I shall not be misunderstood in giving this advice. I am not now, for the first time, showing an interest in Welsh music, or devoting some hours of a busy life to a consideration of the ways and means by which it may be improved. My motive must be known, but let me say that, as an Englishman, I am not altogether unselfish. There is in Wales a rare capacity for serving our common country in music. Much of it is undeveloped, and it is to the interest of British art generally that the whole should be brought under cultivation. Welsh music does not belong to Wales alone. We all have a share in it through the advantage we gain from its efficiency, and upon this fact, as well as upon my keen sympathy with Welsh effortsin art, I base my claim to tender such counsel as many years of experience and observation have suggested.

DOMESTIC AND DECORATIVE ART IN WALES.[1]

BY

THOMAS E. ELLIS, M.P.

I DESIRE at once, and quite unreservedly, to repudiate any claim to speak with authority upon any one of the arts, graphic or plastic, domestic or decorative. I am a mere wayfarer on the Queen's highway, who, in the bustle of the crowd, glances to right and to left to appreciate the beauty or the barrenness of the land; and any remarks which I may make to you to-night, I make, not as an expert, not as one who has any special knowledge or any claim to speak dogmatically upon these matters, but as an observer and a wayfarer.

As we look round upon the life and the activities of our day in Wales, I think we cannot but feel that we are in the glad spring-time for Wales. There are buds and blossoms and flowers of promise in every sphere of the activity of the Welsh people, whether they live in Wales or over the border, and I think in a season of awakening it is right and well and perhaps a duty on our part, to see what is the meaning of the awakening, how deep it is, and into what channels the new life which comes from the awakening is spreading itself.

I think one may say at the start—and one admits it

[1] Address delivered before the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion at 20, Hanover Square, on Wednesday, 10th March, 1897; Chairman, Dr. Isambard Owen, M.A., Senior Deputy Chancellor of the University of Wales.

with sorrow as well as with frankness—that not the most patriotic of us can claim for Wales the possession of a native school of art, such as is possessed by other small countries which have obtained and enjoyed the priceless gift of self-government. I remember well in 1889 spending a few days in the Centenary Exhibition at Paris. I have forgotten most of what I saw there. I have a vague recollection of the crowd, the physiognomy and characteristics of those who came from the various provinces of France, and of the enormous wealth exhibited, the wealth of industry, of art, of commerce, and of the various activities of the great country of France. But the one thing which stands out in my memory, which I think will stand out so long as I live, is the fact that, not alone had the great countries, France, Germany, Great Britain, their separate rooms for the exhibition of the products of their art, but that Denmark, Finland, Servia, Greece, and countries very much the same as Wales in population and in ordinary material wealth, had, each one of them, even distant Finland, separate rooms in that great Exhibition, in order to show, as show they did, the splendid products of the native art of their respective countries. I wondered then, as I often wonder now, whenever I think of these nationalities, whether it is possible that in the times to come our own country may, as an outcome of enfranchised nationhood, claim a place in the galleries which from time to time will show the collective activities of the nations of the world.

But, even without this, one is glad and proud that there have been from time to time witnesses to the latent power for art in the Welsh people. It is true that many of these have shown this latent power well over the border of Wales and in other lands, but I think they have almost all shown it with a personal pride in their early training and recol-

lections and associations connected with their life in Wales. Take, for instance, the fact, which must bring some pride to the heart of every Welshman, that the real father of the British school of landscape was Richard Wilson, who was brought up in comparatively humble surroundings in the little village of Penegoes. One of the most prolific and ablest of the sculptors who have brought glory to the British name in sculpture, was John Gibson of Conway. Inigo Jones in architecture, and Owen Jones in laying down the principles of ornament, have shown that from time to time there will arise witnesses to the latent power which lies in the race and people of Wales.

In our own day we have witnesses to this same power. Were it not for his presence here to-night, I would venture to say a word or two as to the feeling of joy with which we look upon the career and the bright promise of a still greater career of our countryman, Mr. Goscombe John; and, at any rate, one can (in the absence of Sir Edward Burne-Jones) express the pride which every Welshman and Welsh-woman must feel that it has been left to one of Welsh blood, who is proud of his Welsh blood and lineage, to bring forth new powers and reveal new secrets in art, in the person of Sir Edward Burne-Jones. Who, it has been fittingly asked, can measure the wealth of the thought and reading and fine literary discrimination which is signified by the command possessed by Burne-Jones over the entire range of Northern and Celtic and Greek mythology, or the tenderness and largeness of sympathy which have enabled him to harmonise these with the loveliest truths of the Christian faith?

Before I touch upon my actual subject, I ought to refer to one other point. That is the change which has come over Wales in one respect during the last thirty or forty years in the fact that artists—not, I am sorry to say, as a

rule Welsh artists, but artists from outside—have from time to time lived and settled down in Wales, in order to interpret the scenery and the life of Wales. My feeling of regard for them is tinged with sadness at the thought that the interpretation of the beauty of the landscape and of the life of Wales should be left to artists from outside, and that their products should be for a public outside Wales. Their pictures do not pass through the mind or the heart of Wales. This must be so, until we have a municipal gallery or galleries, or a national gallery or galleries, where the works of these artists, who have seen the loveliness of Wales, can be exhibited for the wise enjoyment of the Welsh people. As it is we have neither galleries nor artists of our own, nor any means, except the wealth and good fortune and taste of an individual Welshman here and there, of securing for our people either temporarily or permanently, the artistic interpretation of the landscape and life of Wales.

But, perhaps, national or municipal galleries are not the main thing necessary for the cultivation among the Welsh people themselves of a sense and capacity for art. I think it quite possible that both in England and in Wales we may have the production of hundreds and thousands of paintings or pictures, and at the same time a deterioration of the public taste in art. Art and artists on the one hand, and ordinary life and industry on the other hand, have during the last century and a half been more and more divorced, and I am convinced, from what I can read and learn and observe, that we can never expect a real pervasive feeling and taste for art until this divorce between the artist and his studio, on the one hand, and the workman and his workshop, on the other hand, can be done away with, and the gulf between them be bridged over. If that be so, I feel that we should at present not so much

concern ourselves about what I may call the great master arts of painting and of sculpture, as with the more domestic and decorative arts, to which I desire to refer to-night. For great artists and great sculptors cannot be produced, even like Senior Classics and Senior Wranglers by great schools or great universities. They can only be produced very largely at Nature's own pleasure, at her own time, and in her own way, her own very often quaint, seemingly capricious, and unsuspected way. But though they cannot be produced at schools, yet I think that the history of the art world will show us that they will arise from among the children of an educated race, cultivated in music and in literature, and of a race where there has been developed an innate instinct for beauty, derived from arts practised from father to son, and extended from valley to valley, and from workshop to workshop.

I referred a few minutes ago to the divorce which the introduction of machinery and the great industrial revolution of the last century and a half have brought into the art and industry of this country. I think that that divorce has had a bad effect upon both the artists of our day and upon the workmen, the craftsmen of our day. When the artist, say the architect, has great designs, noble views of his own with regard to the rearing of a great building, he makes this design in his studio, he probably submits it to some governing body or committee, and when approved or accepted places it in the hands of men whom he has never known, with whom he has never come into contact, and with whom he has, as a rule, very little social sympathy. I believe I am right when I say that in the great ages of production, in the ages, for instance, of the building of the stately abbeys and the great cathedrals and churches of Western Europe, the architects had in all manner of ways a much nearer touch with the actual

workmen. As a matter of fact, I believe that the artificers, the workers of our great abbeys and churches, were housed very often in the abbey church, or in the very house of the architect. Very often the bishop himself was the architect, and I have no doubt that Wykeham and Gower, as well as many others, were not merely architects living in a studio, but that they were in close and constant and loving touch with the actual workmen who carved the stone and placed the wood, and found pleasure in carrying out in the minutest detail the ideas of their great master.

That is not so in our day. The artist too often takes little interest either in the problems or in the life or in the wants of the actual workman or craftsman, and the craftsman is not taught or encouraged to take actual personal pleasure in carrying out the ideals and the plans of his master or his architect. I venture to think that the only way in which that gulf can be to some extent bridged is by so modifying our present system of industry as to make it possible for the workman to take and to feel a personal human interest in the actual details of his work from day to day. As things are at present, owing very largely no doubt to the enormous development of machinery, owing perhaps also to the enormous extension of our great factory system, it is difficult, and in many cases perhaps impossible, for workmen to use hand and brain and affection in the way to which I have referred. But I am convinced that it is our duty, so far as in us lies, to make it easy for the workmen as well as for those for whom homes and schools and chapels are built, to feel and to realise that it is possible to give thought and brain, the highest qualities of art, to the construction even of the simplest form of building, whether that building be a house, or a school, or a chapel, or a hall of council. And

although we in Wales cannot hope to produce at command great sculptors, or great painters, or great architects, yet I am convinced that we can very largely through our public and national system of education do much to kindle and rekindle and nourish the instinct for art in its application to industry, for beauty of design and truth in workmanship, in the mind and the life of the people, and more especially by nourishing the domestic and decorative arts, which are the handmaidens of the mother art of architecture.

You may ask me what is meant by decorative art. I would reply in the words of perhaps the greatest witness to the need for domestic art, and to the results, and to the beauty, and to the value of it to the national life, namely, William Morris. He said that the twofold office of domestic art is to give people pleasure in the things they must perforce use, and to give people pleasure in the things that they must perforce make. Now, let us apply that definition or description of the office of decorative art to two simple things, to the building of a home and to our regard for a book. I only take these as the two that are nearest to us, as the two that are necessary to us, and as the two that during life give us the greatest possible pleasure and joy; and I must admit, as I look round parts of Wales and parts of England, that we have, under various pretexts, very much to learn from the generations that have gone by, with regard to them. In our prosperity, our love of change, our tendency to follow the fashion of the day, we have under various pretexts cleared off from Wales most of the memorials of what native art there was in Wales. The number, for instance, of the homesteads, whether manor houses or farm houses or cottages, of Wales, which are old, is already comparatively small. The vast majority of the

old churches of Wales have been restored out of all recognition. You can go to various glens and country sides in Wales where some of the very loveliest churches in this country used to be, and instead of those beautiful buildings that attract and extort the admiration even of the most aggressive politician, what will you find? Not these ancient buildings, except one here and there, but spick and span churches, that you would not really spend half an hour in crossing over fields to see. I have felt the deepest and bitterest regret in going to certain parts of Wales, where there used to be these magnificent old churches, and finding hardly a stone or trace of the old church, but some modern and utterly characterless building.

Bnt there are enough manor houses and farm houses and cottages in Wales still to show us that there was almost instinctively in their builders a natural taste for what was fitting and pleasurable and beautiful. Before entering these old houses, one thing, I think, strikes most observers. Our forefathers in Wales did not plant their houses just in the first place they came to. Many of our villages now, and of our newer houses, are just planted around railway stations, with very little thought of the fittingness of the situation. But if you observe the old homes of Wales, whether manor houses or farm houses, or cottages, you will find that the builder has been very careful in his choice of the site. Not that, as a rule, he chose to build a house where he had the best view of scenery, because peasants do not always realise the beauty of landscape, but he generally chose it in a spot sheltered from the prevailing wind. The house was built where there was a sense of comfort and of restfulness, and instead of leaving the house bare to the four winds, and to the tempests and rains of Wales, the builder generally sur-

rounded it by a belt of sycamore, or ash, or oak, or pine trees. I often wish that the builders of our day, the great landowners of Wales, as the case may be, or you rich London people who go down to Wales and build your houses on our hillsides, would emulate the care taken by our forefathers in the choice of site and aspect for their dwellings.

Before we go inside the old Welsh home, there are one or two other points which are always of great interest to me, in fact three points, the porch, the window, and the chimney. It is very seldom that I see in modern houses in Wales the same charm, either in chimney, window, or porch, as in the old Welsh houses. These are not matters to be made light of. I think that the square, squat chimney on a house, is one of the ugliest monstrosities that the eye can rest upon, and I feel a certain joy when I think of some of the old houses, especially some old Tudor and Stuart houses in Wales, where the chimneys themselves are things of beauty, not those square, squat piles of stone, but fine long, almost sinuous chimneys, that are a joy to contemplate. The windows of many of the old houses are not perhaps very regular; they are not placed, as in a good many modern houses, just like a postage stamp on a letter, but there is a certain fittingness about them. There is generally either about the shape of the window, or about the casement, or the way of disposing of the glass and the lead or wood, something to attract and to please the fancy. In the porch or door one is glad always to notice in the older houses not alone the solid, honest way in which the door and its framework have been put up, but the fact that the timber itself has been thoroughly well chosen and well seasoned, which is not true of most of the modern houses; and that, instead of having handles and knockers chosen out of those made

by the gross at Bilston or Wolverhampton, they have generally finely wrought handles, made deftly and honestly by the village blacksmith, which stand, not the racket of a few years, but work as easily and smoothly to-day as they did when Elizabeth was Queen or Charles I was King. When you go inside some of these old houses, is there not a certain character about the size and form of their rooms which is missing in our more modern farm-houses? Take, for instance, the characteristic of every old Welsh house, the great mantel—*y fantell fawr*—over the fireplace, not a miserable little grate just stuck in a wall, but a real mantel, which is a feature of the whole room, where there is plenty of room for a fire, and where the family can comfortably sit around at night, and not feel that one is taking the whole of the fire, and that the others have to take a back or an apologetic seat. It is a joy to me that, in the better planned houses of our own day, the houses that are planned by our competent domestic architects, and that are enjoyed by men of wealth and taste, this great feature of the old Welsh houses, the *fantell fawr* is becoming, whether in the hall or in the dining-room, one of the striking and most pleasurable features. I am always glad to find also in old farm houses, not only that there is a spacious fireplace with a fine mantel, but that there is also in most of the old Welsh houses a collection of really fine fire-irons; and, believe me, there can be the display of as much real art and taste, and honesty of design, and of workmanship, in fire-irons, as in most of the pictures that crowd the walls of the Royal Academy. I always feel when I see these in a good many old Welsh homes that we have there the highest of the elementary requisites of art, viz., fittingness for the work they have to perform, taste in design, and thorough honesty in workmanship.

Then look at the furniture. I need not recall to your memory the quite modern furniture of most of our houses, the gimcrack things they are, without shape or strength. There is nothing in them which would mark them out as forms of furniture which are meant, not for one generation, but for a succession of generations, around which the associations and the tenderness and the love of home may imperceptibly and unconsciously cling so as to give a sacredness to the very atmosphere and surroundings of hearth and home. What was the main feature of the furniture of an old Welsh farmhouse? Not a pretentious and characterless cupboard with a thin veneer over badly-seasoned and cracking timber, and with loose and ricketty hinges, but the *cwpbwrdd tridarn*—a shapely and substantial cupboard of solid and seasoned oak. It is well proportioned, it is shapely; perhaps there is a dainty bit of carving on it, a few initials and perchance a date. At any rate, it is serviceable, it has served not one generation, but three, five, eight generations in that hearth and home. Are you surprised that there should be in Wales that strong affection and attachment to hearth and home, which very much puzzle the modern man, but which I think are a glory and a strength to the Welsh character and to the Welsh nation. I need only mention other features of the furniture and economy of a Welsh house, the dresser, the settle, the arm chair, the table, the eight-day clock, which unconsciously carry a message from generation to generation, and add to the wealth of associations and to the hereditary enjoyment of a home, making it possible, I think, not merely for the most beautiful home affections to be nourished, but making it possible from time to time to have issue from those houses men and women who can and must distinguish themselves in art and in other spheres of activity.

Of late years, owing to circumstances and conditions of life and tenure and law, the number of houses which are built by those who have to dwell in them is comparatively small, and we find as a result that, not merely are houses thrown up, so to speak, in our industrial districts suddenly and without much thought for anything except a quick return or a big dividend, but that now even in our agricultural and peasant districts the person who has to live in the home is seldom or ever the builder of his own house. It may be that this is inevitable, and that we have to make the best of it, but at any rate I think it is only well to face the fact that some of our greatest teachers say that we can never hope to have beautiful fitting homes so long as they are built, not by those who have to live in them, but by others, who have only some material or cash interest in them. Ruskin some wheresays, I think it is in *The Eagle's Nest*: "If cottages are ever to be wisely built again, the peasant must enjoy his cottage and be himself its architect, as a bird is. Shall cock robins and yellow-hammers have wit enough to make themselves comfortable, and bullfinches pick a Gothic tracery out of decayed clematis, and your English (and he might add your Welsh) yeoman be fitted by his landlord with four dead walls and a drainpipe? Is this the result of your spending £300,000 a year at South Kensington in science and art?" Without entering either into the question of the tenure of houses and land in Wales, or into that most interesting question of the future of South Kensington, I think it is interesting at any rate, and perhaps right, that we should mark and ponder over this dictum of Ruskin; for I must admit that, much as bustling generations and the multitude of the Philistines in this country have laughed from time to time during the last fifty years at the teaching and the dicta of the Master, yet time con-

stantly brings him its revenges, and dicta, which thirty or forty or fifty years ago and even to-day, are scoffed at by busy, prosperous, pushing men, have a curious knack of being recognised as permanent and solid truths by the more thoughtful men and women of our time. I must admit that I do feel a certain sense of void as I think of the modern buildings, the farmhouses and cottages of Wales, their want of character, their want of anything like attractiveness of form, and certainly their want of anything like personal individuality. I repeat, I feel a certain void when, as I sometimes have the pleasure of doing, I pass through Swiss or Tyrolese villages and glens, and observe how the Swiss and the Tyrolese peasants can and do build themselves a home, fittingly proportioned, daintily carved with scrolls or inscriptions, with variations of line, and form, and colour, which give an individuality to each dwelling. I hope that, whatever may be the laws which govern the tenure of houses or of land in Wales, we shall do, as I am glad to find the committees of our Eisteddfodau do, our very utmost to impress upon the workmen and the handicraftsmen of Wales the dignity and the value and the possibilities of their every-day work.

I am not to-night going to appreciate or examine the work, precious pioneer work, which the Committee of the Newport Eisteddfod, and, in a more modest way, of the Festiniog Eisteddfod, are doing for art and handicraft in Wales. I believe that a perusal of the published programme of Newport and a perusal also of the manuscript programme of Festiniog gives one some sense of joy that the Eisteddfodau, not content with instilling a love for and helping the practice of excellence in music, in literature, and in poetry, are doing something, and, I believe, something substantial, to encourage those who build houses in Wales, those who own them, and those who work upon

them, whether carpenters, or joiners, or blacksmiths, or furniture makers, to put thought, and heart, and brain into the construction of homes, places of worship, houses of business, halls of council, which in themselves, in their furniture and in their surroundings, imperceptibly but very surely exercise a far-reaching influence upon all those, old and young, whose eyes rest on them, and who dwell in their midst.

Whatever may be our possessions or our want of possessions, our opportunities and institutions, or our lack of them, this at any rate is true, that there is in Wales a respect for and a love for books. Our countrymen probably draw as much joy and comfort and strength from books as the common people of any country. Some people, I think quite a number of people, believe that any paper, or any type, or any cover, is good enough for a book; they say that all they want in the book is the actual word. From my point of view, to treat a book in that way, and to say that any paper, or type, or cover, is good enough for it, is a form of sacrilege. It is a betrayal of one's best friend; it is shabby treatment of a man's greatest comforter. For what after all is a good book? It represents the most precious heritage of the ages, it contains the highest thoughts about God, Nature, and human things. It represents what mankind, by a curious but very sure instinct, looks upon as a permanent and imperishable treasure. Nevertheless, some would say that it is good enough for this precious heritage to be huddled anyhow into a tawdry or rubbishy cover or shoddy binding, with careless and blurred type, on cheap and nasty paper. Can we not in Wales give a nobler place, take a righter view of the value of a book, as a friend, as a comforter, as a strength to us? So far, what we have done with our books, as a rule, is to leave them in the

British Museum or let them be kept, too many of them, in manuscripts at the caprice of individuals, and subject to the ravages of time and the ordinary accidents of circumstance. Happily, more and more of our books, of our permanent treasures, are being published. Can we not show a further appreciation of the value to the individual and the active life of our people of our books? Can we not, for instance, more and more encourage those who place the great thoughts of the world to do so, not on miserable paper with bad type and characterless binding, without any illustration except perhaps a cheap reproduction of a photograph or a rough-and-ready engraving? Can we not in one way or another, either individually or collectively, encourage these beautiful arts, of printing well, of illustrating well, and of binding well? If individually we do this and encourage this, I believe we shall give an enormous impetus to one of the noblest forms of decorative art in Wales, and is it not high time that we should in this way treat the *Mabinogion*, Dafydd ab Gwilym, Ceiriog's *Myfanwy* and *Alun Mabon*, and even the *Pennillion Telyn* and the *Tribanau*. These are racy of the soil of Wales, in one and all of these you feel, as you read them, the very pulses of the life of Wales, and yet we seem satisfied if we can get them in any commonplace, unlovely form. Cannot we hope that our artists may find their inspiration—as English artists do in Chaucer and in the great masterpieces of English literature—in, for instance, the *Mabinogion*, and in illustrating what I may call the home and domestic poetry of the Welsh people? Cannot we also hope that there may be set up Welsh printing presses whose owners shall take real trouble and incur expense in securing not the cheapest but the best type, and shall we not also do our utmost, individually and collectively, to encourage what I cannot

but consider one of the most serviceable and highest forms of handcraft, namely, the binding of books? I do think that a beautifully bound book is a joy in itself now and for ever to its possessor, and there is no reason whatever why in this matter much steady and speedy improvement should not be secured in Wales. There is no need for us to go through any great agitation. We have only, one and all, to do our duty towards our best friends, the favourite books of childhood, of youth, and of age.

I might easily mention other forms of activity and of craftsmanship where decoration and beauty of design and honesty of workmanship come in, for instance, pottery, tapestry, even posters. I think that one of the many joys, or, if you will, compensations of living in London is the enormous improvement in the posters of this great town. I feel a considerable interest whenever I go through a town in the various features of its life, in its houses, its churches, its schools, and in the faces and dresses of its people, but I must admit that advertisement hoardings in every town have almost as much attraction for me as anything. I can see there a miniature of the life of the town. I can see what the real activity and interest of the town is. I consider that they form a very fair indication of the life and the taste and the promise of a town. I remember that after visiting one town I came away with a feeling of thankfulness for one poster I saw pasted up on a hoarding in it. The town was that sink of iniquity, Port Said, which commands the entrance to the Suez Canal. The human rubbish and vice of the world seem to have been carted into a heap in this town. I think I have never seen a town with so many glaring proofs of the hideousness of its moral life. But the morning before I sailed down the Canal, I came across one poster which extorted my admiration. It was beauti-

fully printed. It was a call to the Italians of that town to celebrate the 20th of September, the entry of the Italian troops into Rome in 1870. It called, in the names of Mazzini, Garibaldi, Cavour, and Victor Emmanuel, on all the Italians in that town to meet together to commemorate that striking and glorious day in the history of their fatherland. The very sight of that poster seemed to me to convey a splendid image of the nationality and humanity of the Italians who struggled for a bare existence, and it gave me something like a redeeming glimpse of the life in that dreadful place. Therefore, I hope that in Wales we shall not look down upon the value of the poster, and I am extremely glad that both the Newport and the Festiniog Eisteddfod Committees have offered a handsome prize for the best pictorial poster for an Eisteddfod.

There are other by-ways of activity, about which one can speak in reference to decorative art. There are village crosses and memorials; there are memorial windows in church and college; and there are tombs. I shall not refer to-night to any of these, except by the mere mention of them, but I always feel that a very great deal can be done for the rekindling and fostering of beauty of design and honesty of workmanship in all these various features. I think nothing is more attractive in the villages where they still survive than the old Celtic crosses of the early centuries. They are silent witnesses of the generations that have passed away in those villages, and they are witnesses to this day of the beauty of design and of the instinctive skill which a Welshman in the early, the 9th, 10th, and 11th centuries possessed. I shall be extremely glad when villagers themselves, or those who having left villages and prospered in the world and returned again, realise what a service they do to a village if they help to

raise a village cross or some form of village monument to those who, sprung from the village or countryside, have done credit to their birthplace and service to humanity. I was one day last summer in the little village of Llansannan, which is considered to be a completely out of the world place. There you find at the present day some of the most characteristic Welshmen in the whole of Wales. There you find a certain freshness and vigour of spirit and of activity and withal splendid conservatism of custom and tradition on the part of the villagers and the peasants, and I felt as I looked upon the open square of the little village that it would be a real addition to that village, and something that would perhaps kindle the young mind there, if a fitting monument, say a Celtic cross, such as you find in Glamorganshire and Pembrokeshire and in many parts of Ireland, were raised in honour of the men who have been reared in that parish. Four names at once occur to me as being worthy to be placed in honour on such a village cross. For a parish which has produced at various ages Tudur Aled, William Salesbury, Gwilym Hiraethog, and Henry Rees, is a parish which can be very proud of itself, and a parish which ought, I think, to raise for generations of its children a monument to show that it appreciates the services which men who have been reared and who have lived in that parish have rendered, not only to that countryside, but to the whole of Wales, and in a degree to humanity.

To sum up these stray thoughts of mine, I would say that our duty is, first of all, to banish from our minds the idea that art is something confined to painting and sculpture, and to impress, in season and out of season, by word and by deed, that the only real hope of art is in its constant application to industry and to everyday life. I would further say that it is our duty in our national

system of education, in our primary schools, in our secondary schools, and still more in our evening continuation schools, to impress the necessity for manual training, for training in the use of tools, and for training in various handicrafts. I would further say that we should give every possible encouragement to the suggestion, for instance, which was made at a Cymric gathering by Professor Herkomer, that we should not alone rely upon manual training and training in the use of tools and in handicraft in our present schools, but that there should be raised in Wales one, or two, or three Schools of Arts and Crafts, where workmen and others can be trained, and from which we can hope to secure an adequate and permanent supply of well-trained teachers. I further think that we should, so far as possible, by this means and by other means, encourage the establishment and the fostering of home industries, of village industries in Wales. This does not imply at all any piratical or quixotic desire to upset what I suppose must be the normal and permanent system of industry in this country by factories and by machinery, but there is still ample and abundant room for the development of handicraft in wood, in stone, and in metal.

If one asks how this can be done, all I would say is this: It cannot be done suddenly and quickly. The development of taste, the gradual accumulation of hereditary skill, and the diffusion of right ideas of design and of art among a people, cannot be achieved by passing resolutions or by plebiscite. They can only come by education, by right ideals, and by patience. If we have right ideals, if we give generous encouragement, and if we persist in well-doing, then I think we deserve the right to look forward stedfastly and hopefully to the dawning of that fuller and ampler time, when the cottages

of Wales, when the halls of council of Wales, when the schools where the young of Wales are trained, when the temples where the manhood and womanhood of Wales pay homage to the Power that creates, and maintains, and guides, when all buildings and all products of the national mind shall show that there is a real vitality in the national art of Wales, in that art which shall mirror not only the bright fancy of the Celt, but that love of home, that love of things of the mind, that spirituality, and that serious outlook upon the mystery of life and the mystery of death which characterise the Cymry.

SUGGESTIONS AS TO THE FULLER STUDY OF OWEN GLYNDWR.[1]

BY

"OWEN RHOSCOMYL."

THE air being now so full of the clash and movement of the "reawakening of Wales", the writing of this paper is only one of the things to be expected. For amongst the many names and catchwords which in a sort are shibboleth of the present unrest, that of Owen ab Gruffydd, lord of Glyndwrdy and Coron'd Prince of Wales, is one of the most frequent and potent; nay, one of the most graceful recognitions of our idols and ideals of recent years, was when, last year at Machynlleth, H.R.H. the Prince of to-day, referred with such good taste and feeling to "my predecessor in the princeship, Owen Glyndwr."

But the outsider to whom, before that, the deeds and person of great Owen had seemed to be for ever summed up and graven in a single line of Skakespeare—"The wild, irregular, Glendower"—may well be pardoned a little curiosity at suddenly finding that there are wide sweeps of vision beyond that line, that that line is but as a dew-gemmed web sparkling in the sun across the entrance of a region well worth exploring. He may be excused a little eagerness if he discover that, looking at that line as at a star in the darkness of a still midnight, he see beyond it

[1] Read before the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion at 20, Hanover Square, on Wednesday, the 12th of May, 1897; Chairman, Hubert Hall, Esq., Director and Hon. Secretary of the Royal Historical Society.

a distance that grows quick with life as it grows deeper; space that grows luminous with suggestiveness—into that space what dazzling planets may have swung and passed, leaving him wondering if into that space other planets may swing and follow in the impalpable track of the departed one. National heroes—wielders and moulders of nations—are planets indeed. After Llewelyn follows Glyndwrdy; after Glyndwrdy—who?

But to come down again to the lower plane. The outsider, listening for a moment to the clamour of our speakers calling from platform and press, grows dubiously aware that Owen lived to other ends than merely that of furnishing a page or two for the stage; of perpetuating a sarcastic calumny upon the nation and a jest anent the national character. There begins to dawn upon him a suspicion of the truth that if Glyndwr had never lived, then the Welsh nation of to-day would possibly be different to what it is at present; and so in a moment of gratitude for a new interest, and of hope for a new enlargement of his mental horizon, he determines to learn all that is to be known of Owen. Straightway he applies to the nearest man with a reputation for "knowing all about Welsh history"—alack! how easily is such a reputation sometimes acquired, and what a melancholy bubble it ofttimes proves before the prick of a single question—and immediately, if he is fortunate, he is furnished with a list of works wherein he shall find all that he requires.

But when with fine zeal he has gone through them all, he will in the end discover that for all practical purposes he might as well have begun and ended with Pennant, who not only tells pretty nearly all that was to be told, but tells it, too, in a manner worth listening to. Nay, he will find that most later historians have calmly appropriated Pennant in bulk; have, in fact, merely unbacked and un-

bound his book and "grangerised" it with a few patches of Latin irrelevancies; with pages of mild disquisitions born of the holy horror of the holy orders at Owen's deplorable habit of breaking eggs merely because he had omelettes to make, and also with timid deprecations of distress that Owen should have so far forgotten the elegancies as to use fire and sword in making war. Such re-hashes of Pennant are scattered from one end to the other of Welsh-English literature; all elegant, deprecating, apologistic, and unspeakable.

And if from these unprofitable *dilettante* he turns to read what later English historians have said of Owen, he will probably find himself busy with Wylie's *Henry IV.* But he will see from the very first page that he must make allowances for an author who is frankly and openly a zealous partizan of Henry's; and that a man unacquainted with other sources would get a yet inadequate idea of Glyndwr did he stick to Wylie alone. Lastly, let him turn to the *National Biography*, and he will find himself still looking at Owen through obviously alien eyes; albeit those eyes are more appreciative than perhaps might have been expected. It is a little curious, however, to find that not even the printing of *The Chronicle of Adam of Usk*" has yet done away with the ridiculous story of the supposed mutilations after the battle of Pilleth. Adam hated Owen as he loved Sir Edmund Mortimer, the defeated one on that occasion; and even his patriotism would not have withheld him from publishing such a disgrace to "Owen and his starvelings" had the thing ever happened. For through his whole chronicle he differentiates between "Owen and his rebels" and the Welsh people at large, villifying the one and upholding the other in a wrong-headed way delightfully human to read.

But to come to the point. To print a history of Glyndwr

upon the basis of what has hitherto appeared in print of him, would simply mean a reprint of Pennant's work, with the addition of a few paragraphs of extra later information from those who followed and leaned upon him. To-day, however, we have different ideas of history to those which sufficed in the days when the curates brought forth their little picks and shovels to dig in the garden of Pennant and under the shade of a sun umbrella to apologise for the shockingly vigorous characteristics of the heroes they disinterred. Then a popular history meant a tabulated list of surface effects, chronologically correct and suavely and elegantly stated, but with scarcely an indication of the subtler under-workings which caused those effects.

Therefore the next history, while it cannot well get very far away from Pennant as to surface actions, must yet expound some of those actions differently, and also go a little deeper down and busy itself with exposing the underlying national conditions which made Owen's pinnacle possible. Further, it must trace whatever of permanence was in his work; that is to say, the after effect of his rising upon the subsequent condition and history of the nation. To take an instance—it must begin not only with a sketch of the political history of Wales from the death of Llewelyn Olaf, but also of Welsh social history, as shaken and acted upon, not only by the various attempts to throw off the Norman yoke, but particularly by the tremendous stroke of the "Black Death", which shook Wales to its foundations as nearly as it shook England and all the other countries of Christendom. Only of late years have historians recognised the importance of that visitation in English history, while as to Wales its effect has scarcely been hinted at.

And yet a study of the scanty material left to us in extents, inquisitions after deaths, court records, and so

forth, shows us that then, in the ruin and weakness which followed in the wake of that plague, Welsh national life seems to have given the first faint indications of returning health. Slight, indeed, like the hardly discernible breath upon the mirror held to the lips of a sorely wounded man, yet none the less an indication of life. From that date we find signs that the common people began to stand by the old laws in their daily lives; not the laws of the later codes, feudalized and Normanized as they had become before the death of Llewelyn Olaf, but the laws as the *Triads* betray them, older, more primitive, and in many respects less oppressive. Upon such a return would naturally follow new hopes and wider aspirations. The golden age is always in the past with every people; oftenest in the dim dawn of history, upon whose visionary background, white of all facts, bards and seers and prophets of comfort have ever expended their dearest and noblest efforts to paint the picture of what may yet be again, and thus to fill the souls of suffering men with hope and strength to will and to win.

"When Adam delved and Eve span", chanted the English rebels—and we may be sure that in Wales it was "when Arthur ruled and Merlin sang" that the golden day existed. In rehabilitating the old laws they had already made one step backward towards the reattainment of the ancient happiness, the next step would follow of itself. And so from that moment the nation grew and ripened in this new hope, waiting only for the leader who should fulfil it. The hour had begun; the man was soon to appear.

For Glyndwr was born in the birth time of these new ideas—within the first decade after the visitation in fact; and though as a chieftain he may have had little sympathy with bondmen's dreams and mere tribesmen's hopes, yet

it was with them entirely that his strength lay; and it was to the fact that they garlanded him with all their hopes of release from the grinding oppression of the Marcher lords, that he owed the power which cost England fabulous sums and countless armies to live through.

It is, then, only by taking count with the after effects fo the Black Death that we can properly understand the curious course of Glyndwr's rising.

In all countries alike the chief effect was seen amongst the tillers of the soil, the actual labourers in the more purely agricultural districts. In England it led to rising after rising of the commons, usually under obscure agitators and half articulate watchwords. In Wales, too, it was the common folk who fared worst, and in the richer agricultural domains and districts of the various Marcher lords that the worst effects were felt. Accordingly, therefore, we find, when the hour came, that in those districts the rising was agrarian first and only political in an added and auxiliary sense. Their immediate lord, having regal power, as a Marcher had, was king to these men and thus when Owen's first flood of power forced those Marcher lords to lighten their yoke, to take off exactions and to bind themselves to better terms for the future, these common folk deemed that their object was won, and so settled down to enjoy the fruits of victory, leaving Owen to do as best he could with his weakened forces.

Sentiment will live on while a practical interest flares up and dies; and so we find that in those districts of North and Mid Wales where the interests of life were mainly pastoral instead of agricultural, the rising was more political than social. This is the reason why it was in North and Mid Wales that it established itself first and maintained itself longest, if indeed it were ever entirely crushed out. Happier far and freer are the pastoral

districts of any country. In the richer agricultural lands, the conditions of user lend themselves peculiarly to exaction and oppression. And so North and Mid Wales might rise enthusiastic to restore the corona of lost independence: there the bards might rouse young and old, chieftain and tribesman, to frenzy, as they sang of the restoration of the glory of those old days—

> When victory lighted o'er Llewelyn's spears,
> What time he carved his name across the years.

But in the older conquered districts, older conquered because more open, rich, and tempting, where the Marcher's heel had ground the people deepest and longest, what the people looked for was relief from rigorous exactions; it was there the common people who listened; the toil-wrung serf; the tribesman finding himself being slowly ground into villenage—these they were who turned their faces towards Glyndwrdy and chanted Owen's name beneath their breath, like an orison to another Messiah; kindling their hopes at the flash of his broad sword, and hanging upon his spear the new milennium, when rent should be abolished and exactions be no more. Hearken to the voice of it—"the country people rose, and swept away all boundaries, and divided the lands and gave them in common to all; and the owners fled." This was when Owen appeared amongst them in South Wales; this was what Owen meant to the rebels of South Wales at least, freedom from the oppressions of their lords—Welsh or English. "They took away from the rich and powerful and distributed the plunder amongst the weak and poor. The higher orders and chieftains were obliged to flee to England." Here is Utopia; here is socialism; here is the time-old revolt of the lowest class, the down-trodden and oppressed, against the bitterness of their lot. Small wonder that they worshipped Owen if he meant the realization of such a dream

to their hungry hearts; smaller wonder yet if it lasted but a little while, and if the first benefit received by his means caused them to slack away and sit down from their leader. Their eyes were blinded by long tears and by long delving in the mire of earth; they could not lift them high enough or far enough to see and realise all that Owen and the frenzied bards and mountaineers beheld afar off and dazzling—the independence of Wales.

And by these heavy steps we come to understand why the rising lasted longer in the mountain countries than in the richer lowlands. Wealth, and the creation of it, tie a man's soul about with trammels of which the dweller amongst sterility knows nothing. The lords of the agricultural districts, finding that the King of England could not save them from the fury of Owen, reluctantly laid their account with naked facts and so came to treaty with their people, and by the proffer of new terms, less hard than the old, came again into possession and power; at the same time buying recognition and countenance from Owen by the payment of a set and calculated sum. Thus we get the entries—"in this year the men of . . . Saxonised and deserted Owen." Owen had done what was hoped of him; his advent had lightened their burdens and had turned back the stream of increasing exactions. A year or two of wild license had shown the wisest of them that Utopia pure and simple was an impossible state, and so they listened to the proffers of their former lords and agreed with them while they were yet in the way with them. The terms were so good, so far excelling the old terms, that they made haste to clinch the bargain and resume a settled life. All of them, that is, save those few finer fibred spirits, whose souls had caught light at the torch of freedom in Owen's hand and who therefore caused that entry—"the remainder of the true men

followed Owen to the North and there settled." Small wonder that good sack-lined Adam of Usk should exclaim that the world was coming to ruin, for that the common people would rule their lords.

Still Owen had not finished with the good fortune which he brought to these benefited men. The fact that he still kept his footing in the wilder and more inaccessible districts held the Marcher lords to the letter of their new bargains. Had Henry been able to crush him in some great battle, to kill or capture him, then the Marcher tenants would undoubtedly have found the old whips substituted by scorpions; but as year after year went by and Owen still kept his eyries, the lords grew accustomed to the new order of things; acquiescence grew into settled custom, stronger for such lessons as that of 1409, when, following the defeat and death of Northumberland in the previous year, Henry's affairs seemed so prosperous that some of the lords attempted to restore the old order of things. Hence Owen's "excesses" in the spring of that year.

I do not wish to lay too much stress upon this part of the movement which Owen headed. Only as it has never before been spoken of, I have rather insisted upon it, because I think that from this point of view alone can we understand the outbreaks in South and East Wales, when, like a sudden flood, the tide of revolt rose and spread from boundary to boundary, as from lordship to lordship the commons cried war for Glyndwrdy. "Owen and his starvelings," says the chronicler, "eight thousand spears, *such as they were*," he writes in another place. Yea, in the rich and open districts it was clearly the lower classes who joined Owen's standard or gathered themselves together, leaderless, and proclaimed his name. And in a rich country a poor man's revolt is seldom successful or

productive of permanent good. Here, as was said above, the peculiar division of Owen's supporters into pastoral and agricultural tended to ensure some permanent benefit to the latter, through the easier pertinacity under different conditions of the former.

To leave, however, this point of the conditions which prepared the way for Owen, there is hardly time to indicate what is meant by "an enquiry into the permanence of his work." But in North and Mid Wales we find the older Welsh laws re-emerging into power as customs of the people. Rents fixed at Llewelyn's death are found to have returned to that figure, and exactions dating from intermediate times have vanished. Encroachments cease, yea, are even swept away; and so settled and strong does the return become that nearly two centuires afterwards, the first serious attempt to renew the policy of increasing exaction and encroachment—by Elizabeth's worthless favourite—is immediately answered by a popular rising, which, though put down, yet has the result of stopping the injustice which provoked it. Here, then, is one of the tests of Owen's greatness—that though he did not set up a nominally independent Wales, yet, for all essential purposes of internal or domestic development, he rescued the nation from alien spur and bridle, and set it back upon its own native courses. Thus it could go on in hope and comparative freedom, as it watched and waited for the day when on Bosworth Field it merged its aspirations in seeming fulfilment, and so set its face to look for a new day and a new order of things.

But besides the interest of the beginning and the end of Owen's work, there is the interest of the actual methods of doing it. And here even Pennant comes short, though he is hardly to blame if, amongst his manifold accomplishments, a knowledge of the art of war was not

included. Yet Owen's acts and policy cannot be properly expounded without some knowledge of strategy.

It seems a bold thing to claim for Owen a knowledge of strategy, since strategy is supposed to have been a lost art at that period: an art which, despite Hawkwood's fame in Italy, is not supposed to have re-emerged till Marlborough at Blenheim taught the world that lesson the value of which Napoleon was the first to really see and profit by and profit so splendidly.

But to take one particular instance. After the making of the famous plot with Percy and Mortimer, Owen was away in South Wales when Hotspur arrived at Chester. Now writer after writer has blamed Owen for being at that particular moment in South Wales instead of at Chester to meet his ally. He was "indulging his love of rapine by devastating the country", say these writers. As a matter of cold fact, politic as Owen usually was, he never engaged in a more politic and well-timed act than this of ravaging South Wales at that very moment.

For the real rendezvous of the three allies was to be in the Mortimer country, that is to say, at Ludlow, then as afterwards the Mortimer capital. From this place they were to march eastward into England to attack Henry with a view to placing the crown upon the head of the child Earl of March, rightful heir of the throne. This would have made the Percies and Sir Edmund Mortimer Regents in England, and left Owen Prince of all the country west of Severn. How long such an arrangement would have lasted has nothing to do with us here; what we are concerned with is Owen's conduct of his share of the plot. Parenthetically, however, this intended march from Ludlow as a base was a curious anticipation of those marches from the same base half a century later, which placed the Mortimer line upon the throne in the person of Edward IV.

Now the rule of the Lords Marcher in South and South West Wales had not yet been seriously broken, and so Owen, in marching with his allies into England, would have left his own countries of North and Mid Wales peculiarly exposed to attack from the swarming garrisons of the South. Therefore, waiting till the last and most effective moment, he sought to secure his right flank and rear from attack, and his strongholds from molestation in his absence, by carrying fire and sword through the southern lordships, and opening the flood-gates of revolt so widely as to keep the lords with their hands full at home till he should have time to return and complete the conquest. This is the real reason why he was ravaging South Wales when Hotspur reached Chester.

Unfortunately, however, he had arranged that all the tribesmen of North East Wales should join Hotspur on his way south, and so come to Ludlow in his company. But Hotspur, mis-weighing that accession to his strength—as the Kynastons, Hanmers and the like kindreds joined him in Owen's name—took a characteristic notion that he might very well pull down Henry single-handed. The prize to him, could he have accomplished such a daring plan, was great enough to have beguiled a more cautious head than his ever was; and so we find him, without even word to Mortimer, striking off eastward right into the heart of England, hoping to see the rest of the country rise to him as uncurbed Cheshire had done.

But the people remembered the old days when Richard's misrule was propped up by these same lawless Cheshire archers, and Hotspur soon found himself, reluctantly enough, compelled to retrace his steps, and try to fulfil the original compact with his allies. His march eastward, however, had thrown the whole plan out of gear and ruined all chance of a junction. Owen, we know, turned back from

St. Clears not earlier than the 12th of July. This would give him just time enough to have arrived at Ludlow a day or so after Hotspur, supposing that the over eager Percy had kept faithfully to the original plan. Owen at St. Clears was very little further from the rendezvous than Hotspur at Chester. But as, after Hotspur's departure eastward, Glyndwr could only guess at the whereabouts of the northern army, there was all the more reason why he should head at once for the agreed place of meeting, and join himself to Mortimer at any rate.

At Ludlow he would hear from the messenger, naturally sent by Percy to his brother-in-law, of Hotspur's retreat upon Shrewsbury, and there is reason to believe that in conjunction with Mortimer he started with all speed for the north. We know, however, that the weather had been of the worst description for days past, and that at the moment of sighting Shrewsbury the Severn was swirling full with an absolutely impassable flood. Consider his case: in nine days he had covered the country between St. Clears and Ludlow, and thence onward to the banks of the Severn. Much of that country was trackless waste of mountain and forest, with the floods out to bar his progress and the ceaseless rain to take the energy out of his men.

And then, after all his labour, after all his forethought and planning, to have all his efforts brought to nothing by the reckless folly of his ally—his feelings must have been epic in their intensity as he saw the northern army, including some of his own best troops and even kinsmen, overthrown before his eyes, and he himself barred by the flood from raising a hand to turn the tide of fortune.

Space and time, however, prevent us going further into these matters; but in conclusion I should like to indicate the directions in which successful search might help us

most in reconstructing the story of Owen's rising and its effects. Stewards' accounts of receipts and disbursements, etc., in the southern lordships before and after the rising might give us some hints as to the basis upon which the inhabitants "Saxonised". Endorsements on contemporary wills, to the effect that upon such a date the testator was killed, or the property devised was ravaged, by Owen, might possibly give us a precious date between that 12th and 21st of July, 1403, which would enable us to trace Glyndwr's movements during those few fateful days. Above all, if any search should re-discover for us the work of "David Morgan, a Welshman, who in 1460 wrote a book of the antiquities of Wales and a description of the country," what a light in the darkness it would be to us, groping so eagerly for traces of the work of the man who by plots and parliaments, by raidings and razings, by battles and burnings, freed Wales from at least the worst tyranny of the Marcher lords; re-kindled the expiring hope of national freedom, and paved the way for the movement which ultimately bore a prince of Welsh blood to the English throne under the dragon flag, and so, by fulfilling the national desires, put a period for ever to national uprisings—

Our national hero, Owen Glyndwr!

After the reading of the foregoing paper the Chairman, Mr. HUBERT HALL, F.S.A., addressed the meeting as follows:—

I am sure, ladies and gentlemen, you will agree with me that we have listened to a very excellent and valuable

paper to-night on a particularly interesting subject. There are a few remarks that naturally occur to a thoughtul student of history, which, will occur to all of us, though, perhaps, from slightly different points of view. There is one observation which I should like to make which I think admits of no dissent; that is, regarding the most interesting style and form of the paper. It is a great thing in the present day when works embodying research are written in a manner which can be easily understood and made interesting to the general readers of history. Such a paper as this is not only pleasant to listen to as a piece of delightful prose, but also it is the more easily understood.

Coming now to the historical value of the paper, it seems to me that the author advances several new and certainly valuable historical suggestions. I do not quite see my way to agreeing with his preliminary remarks on what we may call the bibliography of the subject; I may, perhaps, be a little prejudiced in that respect, as a Sassenach student of history. I have the pleasure of the personal acquaintance of the Saxon writers, whom he has criticised rather severely; I certainly can vouch for their good intentions and strict impartiality, and I should like to suggest that, perhaps, when the author of the paper has carried out his most attractive promise of working out certain lines of research, he will find himself more in agreement with these writers. Mr. Wylie was mentioned. I think that Mr. Wylie may be looked on as the typical Saxon historian of the Welsh history of the period. The writer in the *Dictionary of National Biography* referred to is, of course, Professor Tout. He and Mr. Wylie confirm one another, but I have heard no word of a writer who came before them both. I remember some twelve or thirteen years ago being consulted about a paper which

was offered by Mr. Solly Flood, Q.C. (who was at one time Attorney-General of Gibraltar, and who subsequently devoted five or six years of his life to serious researches at the Record Office, and elsewhere), to illustrate the history of the life of Henry of Monmouth, *i.e.* Henry V, as Prince of Wales, and chiefly during the campaign against Owen Glyndwr. I had many opportunities of seeing his work, and it is interesting to note that this work was the precursor of the works of Mr. Wylie and Professor Tout, so that these three authorities go together, and I quite admit that they took a Saxon view, especially in upholding the necessity of what we may call the *ancien régime* of the Lord's Marchers, and in a sort of idolatry of Prince Henry. He was a young prince who could do nothing wrong; he was painted by them as an angel, and, I am afraid, they represent Owen Glyndwr in rather the opposite character. But, though that is, perhaps, a national prejudice to be regretted, the work which these writers have done cannot be belittled. If we want to put them right, we must go behind them, we must show where they were wrong, and work up from Welsh sources which exist, as the author of this paper has justly said, a better account of the subject than has yet been given to us. *Adam of Usk*, who has been largely referred to, edited by Sir Edward Maunde Thompson, is one of the best authorities, and, though the author is violently Saxon, the editor is judiciously impartial. I have heard no word either of Sir James Ramsay's work, which I think might have been mentioned, a work which aims at being perfectly impartial.

I think, perhaps, all these authorities may be regarded as representing the Saxon view, as against Pennant, who is by far the most eminent of the exponents of the Welsh view. But it seems to me that the writer of this paper

has scarcely made out a case in saying that there are no additions to Pennant worth having in the present day. I think that Pennant has been entirely re-written by modern research, and if that research has been carried out in, I admit, rather a partial and Saxon spirit, it seems to me that the natural conclusion is that Welsh writers of the present day have neglected a good opportunity of giving a modern Welsh view based on research. The incidents of the massacres need not be dwelt upon; I incline strongly to the opinion that in this instance one side was as bad as the other. If you were to read the letters that have been printed by Mr. Solly Flood from Prince Henry, avowing, with his own pen, detestable severities which were exercised by the British army upon the helpless people, you would feel that the conquerors had as much to answer for as the subject population.

A good deal has been said by our author as to the strategy employed by Owen Glyndwr. I think this is a very excellent point, and that very scanty justice has been done to the Welsh leader in respect of his strategy. I think that he was distinctly in advance of his time. Also, our author has reminded us that the art of war was then in its infancy, which is, in itself, a very good point to make. Owen Glyndwr's strategy was a long way ahead of that of the royal commanders; his mysterious disappearances alone are excellent illustrations of the sort of guerilla warfare which he waged so successfully. We must not forget that the Welsh at that time were fighting men from their youth upward; they had been trained for two centuries, at least, as mercenaries in many battlefields of Europe, more particularly employed by the English kings from Henry II's time onwards. We meet with these Welsh mercenaries in the English army, and also in the English household, as men-at-arms and captains, the

nucleus of a standing army which always followed the king. So that there seems to have been a kind of military training, which must have proved very valuable indeed when a leader like Owen Glyndwr came forward. He had ready-made captains and sergeants at his call. Very much the same advantage was enjoyed by the Swiss patriots in their conflicts with the Austrian invaders. The Swiss had been the mercenaries of the continent, had learned the art of war, and had transmitted it from father to son, and they were a nation of soldiers in the same way that the Welsh were to a large extent; and so they were able to beat the Austrians, just as the Welsh on several occasions were able to withstand the armies of Henry II and Henry IV. These are very much matters of opinion, and not of great importance. I frankly told you that I feel at the present moment that the Saxon authorities have the best of the matter from a purely historical point of view. As to the question of the massacres then, we need say nothing, because it only amounts to mutual abuse, and as to the strategy I believe that Owen Glyndwr would have received higher praise from a purely military historian.

But our author has not written this paper without a serious historical thought, and this thought seems to me to be a very profound and valuable one, on the subject of the causes of the deep-seated opposition to the English and consequent national support of Owen Glyndwr. It is not enough to say that the Welsh had been for several centuries rebels and outlaws, men who would follow any leader in opposition to the English king and the Norman barons. It is not enough to say that at the beginning of the fifteenth century the native Welsh were as lawless and unsettled as they were of old. I insist on this, because the fifteenth century is admittedly the beginning of a new

era, when the middle ages had practically come to an end; when people did not merely fight for the love of fighting; when there were more serious interests at stake; when commerce had a large voice in the affairs of everyday life, and agriculture was pursued as a serious science. I felt very strongly, as I heard the suggestions of our author, that he has hit upon the right explanation. It seems to me that the Black Death and the consequent agrarian changes are responsible for these national aspirations in South Wales at least. And South Wales is really the only part of the country which was affected in that way. Our author has been careful to distinguish between the pastoral country of North and Mid Wales and the agricultural districts of South Wales. Of course it could only have been South Wales that was affected by the Black Death working agrarian changes. The wealth of the country, in North Wales and Mid Wales, and to a large extent in South Wales, must at all times have been chiefly in cattle. That would apply more or less, not only to the whole of Wales and the marches, but also to Scotland and the marches of Scotland, and to Ireland, down to the present day. When we read of the wars between the Welsh and Henry II, we find the war indemnity imposed upon the conquered is in the shape of cattle. 10,000 head of cattle were claimed by Henry II. So in these wars and rebellions of Owen against Henry IV, the chief wealth of the country, to judge from the captures made, was in cattle. But there is no doubt that the South of Wales had also considerable agricultural interests, and that there, as in England, the agrarian movement which followed the Black Death must have stirred the pulses of the people as no other cause whatever could have done. The proverb about touching an Englishman's pocket applies also to a Welshman; and the

exactions claimed by the Marcher Barons from the prosperous Welsh peasantry, in the shape of signorial dues and feudal exactions, must have filled them with a deep sense of injustice, and with a desire to right themselves and to protect themselves. I seem to see in that a very reasonable explanation of the permanence of Owen Glyndwr's rebellion. Of course, it follows from this, as our author says, that the people of the South, which was more or less under the old land-law, were seen in the somewhat unamiable character of "blacklegs". They hastened to make submission, while the people of the north and central districts were able to take to the mountains with their flocks.

I think that this point which our author has brought forward, and very fairly sustained, may be looked upon as one of great historical importance. Perhaps it was foreshadowed by the recent literature of the Land Laws Enquiry, that is to say, the same investigations that had been carried out with respect to English agricultural communities when applied to Wales by a great economic historian are, I believe, sure to bring out some historical parallels. But I think our author is entitled to the credit —as far as I am aware—of being the first person to call attention to this very important point. He gives us, in pursuance of these reflections, some interesting glimpses of Welsh record law, merely as suggestions as to how this line of argument may be followed out. I think, myself, though I am not very intimately acquainted with Welsh records, that there is a reasonable probability of his opinions being fully confirmed by the results of an examination of Welsh manorial records. I think it will probably be interesting to you to know that the Welsh manorial records are a very large and important class of economic records, and if the late Professor Thorold Rogers

was able to prove in his great history of prices the greatest economic truths of our own time from a comparatively limited area of manorial jurisdiction, I think it would be possible to prove the suggestions that our author made to us to-night, and even more.

There is one further point which struck me, but with which I do not feel myself to be quite so much in agreement, regarding the aspirations of the Welsh for the revival of their national laws. I feel that it is a delicate point, but I am looking at it purely from a dry historical standpoint. I think that the author is perfectly right, as well as acute, in his suggestion that we should study, not the feudalized Norman versions of the Welsh laws, but the pure sources of the Triads. I do not think it is possible otherwise to put ourselves into touch with the national aspirations. I do not mean to suggest that these national aspirations did not exist. We know, in the case of the Sassenach, that such aspirations existed in the Norman period. The Saxons were for ever appealing to the ancient laws of Edward the Confessor as the ideal of good government—the Golden Age, as our author has said —and when they were pleased with the Norman king they said to him, "Leges Regis Edwardi nobis reddit," and when the Norman king wished to please his Saxon subjects he said, "Leges Regis Edwardi vobis reddo." These laws meant very little, they only meant some pious abstraction like even justice, equality of all classes before the law, like the threefold oath that was taken by Anglo-Saxon kings to uphold the ancient church, to maintain equal laws, and to administer even justice to all classes. Yet out of that very meagre formula the people were always able to supply a promise to redress all manner of grievances; and from that threefold simple formula were evolved, first, the Coronation Charter of Henry I, and,

afterwards, the text of Magna Charta itself. So I can quite understand and believe that the Welsh peasantry in Owen Glyndwr's time were eager and expectant of a restoration of the old laws, just as the Saxons, down to Henry II's time, were always looking forward to a millennium of Saxon laws, as administered in the time of Edward the Confessor. But I do not think that this is the real explanation of the permanent benefits resulting from Owen Glyndwr's rebellion, which is perhaps the most important consideration that we have to meet, that is to say, the after effects. I think that the economic after effects which our author has described so well were very permanent; I mean that tenants got better terms from their lords, and managed to keep them, though I would not go so far as to say that there were no exactions or encroachments possible, or that when such were attempted they were always resisted and prevented. I have never met with any such happy state of things in my own historical reading before quite the close of the last century, either in England, or in Wales, Ireland, or Scotland. Still the permanent after effects, from an economic point of view, were very desirable. From a legal point of view I think that our author has omitted to notice the beneficial results of the Tudor despotism. He has told us in one eloquent passage that the Welsh expected much from the victory of Bosworth; that the Tudors were more or less pledged to recognise the claims of Wales, and I believe they did so; at any rate Wales benefited by a new administration of the law, not a return to the Golden Age, to the ancient laws of the Triads, but an innovation superseding the common law by the beneficent jurisdiction of the king himself.

The Council of the President of Wales and the Marches has often been looked upon as an instrument of oppression,

but I believe that to the Welsh of that time it was a means of salvation. The Crown stood between the people and their oppressors, even justice was done under its strong hand. All the tyranny of the small Baronial Courts was checked if not completely put an end to. It was curiously enough alleged by many contemporary English writers that the Welsh were too many for their English neighbours; that the average Welshman of the period was much smarter as a man of business, and more advanced as a farmer, and altogether that the Saxons who came in contact with the Welsh required to be protected from them. Each side had its own point of view, then the Crown intervened successfully, I believe; and that is why this Court, which, with a curious historical reminiscence of the Mortimers, had its headquarters at Ludlow, was able to keep order without any further tumults, until the necessity for its good offices ceased with the overthrow of the personal despotism of the Stuarts.

I have offered these few remarks, which I fear are rather desultory in character, not with any hope of throwing new light upon the paper, but merely to indicate my own individual feeling of its truly historical character, to set as it were the note which I hope will be followed in the present discussion. When we get a paper that contains so much true and valuable history it seems to deserve an historical elucidation from those who discuss it.

Postscript by "Owen Rhoscomyl".

November 17, 1897. — Reading the close and sympathetic remarks of the Chairman, I feel that a few words of explanation may bring us even nearer together.

The paper, then, was written as by one Welshman writing to other Welshmen, and therefore taking count only with that mental picture of Glyndwr which is common to the generality of Welshmen alike, since it has been absorbed from Welsh sources, chiefly, however, written in English. It would have been lenient enough in the Chairman to have spoken of my "belittling" the work of Mr. Wylie and Professor Tout, had the most vigorous of my phrases had those two patient scholars in view. But the writers intended were those—well known to Welshmen and all but absolutely unknown to Englishmen—who followed Pennant at home with "Lives" and "Memoirs" of Glyndwr. Such, for instance, as "The Rev. Thomas Thomas, Rector of Aberporth, and Perpetual Curate of Llanddewi Aberarth". I do not say that he was worse than another; I merely use him as a name to symbol the type because he happens to come up readiest in my mind. His "Memoirs" may stand for the rest; "all elegant, deprecating, apologistic and—unspeakable".

It was this sort of thing I meant by "Welsh-English literature", and these gentlemen whom I meant by "*dilettante*". And in going on to say of Mr. Wylie that "one would get an inadequate idea of Glyndwr did he stick to Wylie alone", as also in saying that in looking at Glyndwr through the eyes of Professor Tout, one "was still looking at him through alien eyes, though eyes more appreciative than might have been expected", I had no thought of impugning their scholarship or impartiality. What I had in my mind was that there are many hints and indications in the printed history of Glyndwr, whose significance is almost wholly lost upon a "Saxon" or other "outsider". And this not from any inability to seize and weigh evidence, but because these indications are of a kind whose pregnancy can only be recognised at a glance by

a Welshman, who knows, from a hundred unnoted and unstarred sources, what wide and potent under-influences are called and gleam into recognition from perhaps a single phrase, or even one word in a printed line; a word to the outsider standing dark and dumb of all inner significance.

There is not space here to go into the ethical supports of this last contention, neither, probably, is it necessary, since I think that the Chairman, representing sympathetic English students, will see now what was intended. As to ignoring Sir James Ramsay's work—unfortunately it was not available at the moment of writing, and so no mention was made of his name.

In conclusion, great thanks are due to Mr. Hall for starting the discussion at so high a level, for the great object of the paper was to provoke thought and study amongst us as to Owen's right to be regarded as our national hero in the historical sense, in contra-distinction to Arthur in the mythical sense.

O. R.

RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN WELSH EDUCATION.[1]

BY THE

REV. G. HARTWELL JONES, M.A.,

Rector of Nutfield, Surrey.

In addressing myself to the subject of Welsh education, which has excited interest far and wide, and elicited lively discussion during the last ten years, it will be felt that some explanation is due from me, for supposing that a question that has received so much attention and been handled with so much skill and ability, leaves any room either for a disputant or an enquirer. It has roused public enthusiasm. It has commanded the services and self-sacrifice of the men of most light and leading in the land. It may seem, therefore, to argue uncommon hardihood on my part to treat the subject again. But the suggestions of a Chairman of Cymmrodorion, like Royal invitations, admit of no refusal, and, at the same time, the principles on which education must be conducted have ever possessed a hold upon my mind. So it will be my endeavour to present an aspect of the subject which, to the best of my recollection, has never been dealt with hitherto.

When we look over the surface of Wales to-day, and see the country studded with elementary schools, forming the foundation of the educational edifice, surmounted

[1] Address given at the meeting of the Cymmrodorion Section of the National Eisteddfod, held in the Town Hall, Newport (Mon.), 2nd August, 1897. Chairman, the Mayor of Newport (Mr. Alderman Goldsworthy).

by intermediate schools elaborately equipped, and a National University forming the coping-stone, we are naturally inclined to claim that we have in Wales an educational Utopia. Undoubtedly there would be warrant for the claim, if perfection were possible, even theoretically. We find in our youth, and, indeed, in our countrymen generally, an ardent passion for culture, and recently a wave of enthusiasm for education has passed over this country which few others could parallel. We find enough evidence of talent in the past and present generations. We find excellent educational machinery, and have so graduated our institutions that now the horny-handed sons of toil can climb, rung by rung, up the educational ladder. We have profited by the experience of other countries. There is another consideration—and this is a matter for no small congratulation in Wales—our aspirants to titular avalanches after their names will no longer have to depend on the generosity of Transatlantic Academies.

But we are still in a transition state. This is but natural. Education is an evolution, an organic growth. You cannot drop down a university or system of intermediate schools, spick and span, and expect it to work perfectly smoothly, and compass all that you desire at once. You cannot produce graduates all at one stroke, fitted for the work that Wales expects at their hands, as the goddess Athene, in the Greek myth, is said to have sprung up, lance and shield in hand, from the head of Zeus. Rather, they must expand according to natural laws, and while we expect great things from our system of education, and look forward to seeing the Welsh University equal to any, outside Oxford and Cambridge, yet it takes time; there may yet be dangers and difficulties in the way. Not that I doubt of success for an instant. On the contrary, I am

sanguine, and rejoice at the progress that has been made. Not that I intend, on the other hand, indulging the imagination in painting to myself extravagantly glowing pictures of what Wales will be fifty years hence. But the present time seems to be opportune for pressing home one or two things that have forced themselves upon my notice, and now, when—I say it with mingled feelings—my present position, without abating my interest in these matters, admits of my detaching myself more, and viewing educational matters in Wales with a better perspective, perhaps some advantage may accrue from playing the part of a whetstone. It will be my purpose to-night, so far as I am able, to hold up the mirror to you, and, without attempting to say anything strikingly novel, to point out the significance of what has been done of late, and the desirability of preserving the best features in Welsh institutions, Welsh character, and Welsh genius, and yet not miss the benefits bestowed by a study of education in other countries. At least, it is not too much to hope, even at this day, that intelligent Welsh patriots may learn something from educational experiments in England and abroad, when Sweden, Belgium, Holland, and Germany, have, for a number of years, taken a lively interest in the progress of English education, ay, when Wales herself can point to zealous students of her language and literature at the Universities of Paris, Zurich, and Leipzig.

It may be instructive, therefore, in view of welding together and developing the new machinery that has come into being in Wales, to enquire dispassionately :—

1.—*What is the place of Welsh education among the educational systems of Europe?*

2.—*How are the recent changes likely to affect the Welsh mind?*

To these two questions I shall address myself in succession.

I.

It must be obvious to every one that education follows certain laws, that there is an evolution in theories of education. *Quod fit id fiet* expresses a truth in education; and one point that I would bring home to you is this—that Wales has been passing through the same phases of thought in regard to education as marked the progress of education elsewhere years and years ago. Germany is the classic ground of education. It is interesting to observe how its history has repeated itself in various countries one after another. This would form an interesting subject for a lecture in itself. Here suffice it to say that Wales at present, as regards her educational position, more closely resembles the Continent than England does. Yet it is distinguished from it, and for convenience we may confine ourselves to the two countries, Germany and France, whose educational history is rich in suggestion and warning. One great difference between education in Great Britain and in these Continental countries lies in the deep seated prejudice entertained in this country against state interference. While, on the one hand, in France and Germany the whole of the machinery is guided and directed by a Minister, and is, in France mechanical, in Germany more elastic, in Great Britain, on the other hand, greater scope is offered to individual or local enterprise, in other words to Free Trade in matters educational. The consequence is, that, whereas foreign countries gain by a general symmetry, with us freer play is allowed to the various elements; they ensure uniformity, we encourage multiplicity. But valuable as this principle of *laissez faire* is in its application to educational methods,

it must be admitted that it carries with it disadvantages also. It carries this fact for one—that, whereas in elementary schools no teacher can be allowed to teach without a diploma testifying to his knowledge and capacity, yet in a secondary school the children of the middle classes often have been left, and, indeed, are handed over to the tender mercies of persons possessing no guarantee of fitness for the office. The Germans have changed all that, and, in effecting this desirable change, in insisting on proper qualifications for teaching in secondary schools, they have at the same time elevated education to a proper dignity. These details must suffice. Upon the whole it may be said that while Germany, and, to some extent, France have much to teach us, yet a cast iron system is probably out of harmony with British traditions and genius.

Underneath the differences that exist between Great Britain and Continental countries, differences partly racial, partly historical, and, in spite of the kaleidoscopic changes that education has witnessed of late years, two trends of thought are distinctly discernible. The two trends lie respectively in the direction of "Liberal Education" on the one hand, and "Useful Studies" on the other. In some countries (for example in Germany to a great degree) the two principles have intersected and clashed, and then run parallel to each other; in England and Wales they have intermingled and combined. The two terms hardly require any explanation. Liberal Education consists in drawing out the capabilities of the human being to the utmost; in other words, it is the fullest development of the individual. It is what Oxford and Cambridge have professed to give since the two universities woke up from their mediævalism, a stigma indeed which a recent Dutch writer has not hesitated to attach to them to-day. It has

formed the staple of education in most of our great public schools, till they, too, were reformed to meet the exigencies of the nineteenth century and the whips and scorpions of examiners.

Meanwhile another spirit was asserting itself. Utilitarianism arose to denounce the old order of things, and clamoured for useful studies, as it called them—studies which would pay, which would bring direct profit. It insisted that education should be confined to some particular and narrow end, and should issue in some definite work, which can be weighed and measured. Its advocates argued as if every thing, as well as every person, had its price; and that where there has been a great outlay, they have a right to expect a return in kind. This they called making education and instruction "useful", and "utility" became their watchword. With a fundamental principle of this nature, they very naturally went on to ask, "What is there to show for the expense of a university? What is the real worth in the market of a liberal education? on the supposition that it does not teach us definitely how to advance our manufactories, or to improve our lands, or to better our civil economy; or, again, if it does not at once make this man a lawyer, that an engineer, and that a surgeon; or, at least, if it does not lead to discoveries in chemistry, astronomy, geology, magnetism, and science of every kind.[1]" Under these auspices modern science, with her wonted arrogance, strode into the field, and imperiously demanded elbow-room.

Now, those of us who have enjoyed the opportunity of obtaining a liberal, or, in other words, a philosophical education—for that is what the classics in their wider

[1] *Cf.* Newman, *Lectures on University Studies*, p. 151.

sense ought to impart—would join issue with this school. True, the increase of physical enjoyment and social comfort is eminently desirable, is absolutely necessary. But education surely means much more than that. Education, in the opinion of the mere utilitarian, is little better than the whole duty of man as defined in irony by Goethe:—*Sich ernähren, kinder zeugen und sie nähren.* It is to reduce the human being to the level of an animated machine; to teach him to eat and drink and lie down again. But to controvert these assertions against a liberal education would carry us far afield to-night. The point that I want to make clear is that this rivalry, sometimes amounting to a conflict, exercised a profound and powerful influence over the history of education everywhere, and has a very direct bearing upon the educational position in Wales.

Formerly the *Lycées* of France, the *Gymnasia* of Germany, and the Grammar Schools of Great Britain, were dominated by the humanists, as the votaries of a liberal education called themselves. But the advent of the nineteenth century rang the death-knell of the old system. France raised the standard of revolt, and led the way with her Polytechnics. We cannot but think that this emancipation (as they would call it) was the legitimate offspring of the French Revolution. Certain it is that this change synchronised with revolutionary movements. But time brought its revenges. France repented in dust and ashes, and returned for awhile to the paths of Greek and Latin. France, however, from time to time has oscillated from one side of the compass to the other, and since the year 1880, when M. Jules Ferry's star was in the ascendant, the current has set rather in the direction of the Revolution. The *enseignement spécial* organised in 1866 as a preparation for an industrial,

agricultural, and commercial career, is no onger content with the modest role marked out for it by its originator, M. Victor Duruy. But here comes in an important point, a point which possesses a decided significance for a people that has so pronounced a bias towards humanistic studies as the Welsh. Throughout the war waged between the humanists and realists Latin maintained its hold on public favour, and at present it exercises a powerful influence. So popular is it apparently that if the heads of the University attempted to abandon it, many would leave the *lycées* and enter the Jesuit schools, where the education is based on the worship of the masterpieces of classical antiquity.[1]

But it is to Germany that we must look for the soundest solution of the difficulty as yet attained, though it is far from perfect. Three decades ago, the Prussian Minister of Public Instruction said, "The *Realschulen* will knock at the doors of the University, and admittance will not be denied." In 1870 and 1871, just at the time when the indemnity paid by the French afforded the sinews for the work, and, curiously enough, when Board Schools were instituted in this country, Von Bethmann Hollweg's prophecy was fulfilled. Ever since that time the movement has steadily gained ground. William II has proclaimed strongly in favour of the real studies; technical instruction has advanced by leaps and bounds, and, what is particularly interesting to us at this juncture, German manufactories have been based upon a scientific training. Yet, in Germany, it is very noteworthy (and I emphasise this in view of the characteristics of the Welsh) a liberal education still predominates. It is a fact that only one-third of the teachers and students devote themselves to mathematics and the sciences of nature; the

[1] *Educational Review*, ii, p. 173.

other two-thirds are engaged upon classical, oriental, and modern philology,[1] archæology, history, political science, and moral philosophy. The following document[2] is a sign of the times, and ought to be instructive to us. It is this: —In 1880 a memorial was addressed to the Prussian Minister of Education relating to the admission of pupils from these *Realschulen* to the Universities, and the unanimous opinion of the University of Berlin, embodied in this memorial, was favourable to a classical education. Notice some of the names; the most distinguished scientific men are represented:—Hoffmann the chemist, Helmholz the physicist, Peters the naturalist, Zeller the philosopher, Mommsen the classical philologist, Zupitza the English philologist, and Curtius the historian—truly a galaxy of genius, and paragons of learning. What do they say? They insist upon the importance of classical studies in cultivating "the identity of the scientific sense", which embraces much more than the science of nature. "The interest in science," they proceed, "is not dependent upon nor limited by practical aims, but ministers to the liberal education of the mind as such, to the many-sided and broad exercise of the thinking faculty."[3]

Thus far France and Germany. England lagged far behind; but Wales has been awakened, and England is becoming alive to the necessity of provision for the useful studies, in the narrower sense of the term. The question has been keenly debated for a great many years. An acrimonious discussion was conducted in the *Edinburgh Review* at the time when Oxford was reformed to meet the necessities of the age, and the contest was sustained, on one side by Professor Playfair, Lord Jeffrey, and

[1] This term includes much more than the science of language, and may be said to be synonymous with general classical culture.

[2] Quoted in Sonnenschein's *Ideals of Culture*, p. 2. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 52.

Rev. Sydney Smith, on the other by Copleston and Davison, of Oriel. But, in reality, the movement dated from a much earlier period, from the time of Lord Bacon, to whose ideas an impulse was afforded by Locke. Natural science, which has for some unaccountable reason arrogated to herself the title of Science, has gradually won her way to public favour. To Cambridge she has given the prevailing tone. At Oxford she is no longer looked upon as a *parvenu* and given the cold shoulder. In our University colleges she has more provision made for her than the time-honoured and modest Classics.

These two tendencies, then, have made themselves felt during the last hundred years here and on the Continent, and they have received an accession of strength, or, viewed from another standpoint, issued in various ways. The first that may be mentioned is the adoption of a more natural method of training. At length it has been recognized that boys, and girls, and youths, are not mechanisms but organisms; that education must follow as Nature dictates, from the lower faculties to the higher, beginning with the memory, advancing to the imaginative faculty, and afterwards forming, stimulating, and bracing the intellectual powers. It may not be beneath the dignity of the grave academicians that I see around me if I seek an illustration from Elementary Education. What really is the meaning of the method initiated by Pestalozzi and refined by Froebel, but this principle on which I am dwelling, a principle for which they fought and toiled in the face of active opposition—they knew the strength of prejudice and the penalty of innovation—a principle that has now gained recognition in civilized countries, namely *Kindergarten*? It is to develop the child mind along the lines laid down by nature; it is to study the individuality of the child; it is that we must

not stretch the tender mind on a procrustean bed, nor force it into a contracting suit of intellectual armour, without care whether it fits or not. "Whatever is nature is evil," this, stated somewhat badly, was the dominant idea for centuries. The long school hours, the rigid discipline, the barren teaching, the dreary lesson books, were in direct antagonism to every natural and healthy desire, and produced an intellectual dyspepsia, while the love of learning was intensified by frequent, and not seldom merciless, castigation, as the wife of Dr. Syntax expressed it:—

> "Come a few welcome pounds to earn,
> By flogging boys to make them learn."

Well, we are changing a good deal of this, not only in elementary schools, but in public schools and universities. This is one of the things that have lent support to the movement towards utilitarianism in education, and, gentlemen, Pestalozzi and Froebel were right. Education, especially in the earlier stages of growth, must ever keep in view the great principle that its highest object is the mental and moral elevation of all that is best and noblest in the powers and character. Teaching may still seem to fall short of this ideal. It should, however, always aim at the orderly symmetrical evolution of all the higher powers and tendencies in human nature, and unfold them in their just proportions.

Another strongly marked feature of educational progress which has contributed to the increase of useful studies, consists in the attention drawn to the great principle of evolution which lay behind, and was partially expressed in Darwinism. This theory, whether accepted or not, and whatever weak points it may contain, yet still, completing as it did the investigations of Cuvier and Bichat, and itself applied by Spencer and Bagehot to a

wider range of studies, produced a wide and profound effect. Not only has the principle been recognized conditionally or unconditionally in scientific circles, but it has placed Biology in the front rank among departments of study, and has exerted a corresponding influence upon the history of civilization (*Kulturgeschichte*) and other sciences less closely related.

Then, again, the general adoption of the comparative method, which contains the quickening germ of progress, has a wide bearing and far-reaching effect. Initiated, it may be said, by Montesquieu, in the province of the philosophy of history, and applied to other domains of thought by Turgot and Niehbuhr, it has exploded many of the notions formerly cherished in the field of ethnology, mythology, and the sciences of language and education. It has at once widened the sweep of vision by offering a more comprehensive survey of the encyclopædia of knowledge, facilitated research in each branch of speculation by the flood of light let in upon it from other sources, and stimulated specialists to a deeper enquiry into one particular science. Nor must we forget the immense impulse that the utilitarian movement has afforded to the cultivation of modern languages, and the reflex influence exerted by them in turn upon the movement itself. Ever since the age of Bacon, the true founder of realism in education, and the time of Locke and Milton, all of whom rebelled against the dry formalism that prevailed in English education in their day, the current has set steadily in the direction of modern languages. Sixty years ago they found in Combe an eloquent advocate. Since then, improved international intercourse, the popularity of travel, the rise of the South American States, the contact with neighbouring races in the colonies, "rumours of wars" —all these have conspired to raise the study of modern

languages now to the position of a mental science. And who better fitted for their study than the coming generation of Welshmen, who, possessing strong linguistic faculties, improve their powers by the cultivation of two languages side by side?

Now that I have placed before you some of the facts and features of recent developments in education, I ask What is the lesson we learn from them? All this means that the studies in European and American schools and universities are being adjusted. It means this also, that while these so-called useful studies are indispensable and they are now put on a right footing, yet the foundation must be laid in a liberal education. Thus it comes about that, as in the physical frame the growth of one part may exceed the growth of another, so in intellectual life now one side may be developed abnormally, now another, till at last they are duly proportioned and equilibrium is secured. To this tendency Wales forms no exception, and here lies the problem that awaits solution in the Wales of the immediate future. It is that you have to reconcile these studies and preserve the balance; and upon the way in which this question will be solved there depends no less than the alteration of the whole character of our race.

Without presuming to anticipate the decision to which the public will inevitably be brought, I venture to say that no devotion, no proficiency, no success in these modern studies can compensate for the lack of a liberal education, if these useful studies, while casting into solution cherished traditions and ennobling ideas that have proved the mainstay of nations and the mainspring of progress, put nothing in their place. It matters little to be told how many folds there were in the brain of the author of *Hamlet's Soliloquy*. It does not tend very much, you know, to cultivate the

affections, which must be still a part of education, to assure the fond mother that the prehensile power displayed by her angelic Algernon, is a survival of the agility of his ancestors in swinging from tree to tree in the primæval forest. Ladies and gentlemen, I tell you what is becoming the besetting sin of studies at the present day in schools and in colleges—overspecialising. Through exclusive devotion to one pursuit, the seeker after truth in his own line becomes intoxicated and dizzied by his favourite hobby, and loses sight of the unity of knowledge. Neither are the classical, nor, indeed, any studies free from the charge: classics, history, and others, are equally prolific of pedants. Unless the mind is trained at some stage or other to view the circle of knowledge as a whole, the unity of knowledge is missed. Give the accentuation of modern studies, to the neglect of others, what name you like; call such a training useful, if you please—useful, inasmuch as it brings in immediate and direct reward in some shape or other; call it science, if you prefer the term, but do not call it a liberal or philosophic education.

But more than this. Nowhere would a partial training be more detrimental than in Wales, for this reason. Bear in mind that the great object of a liberal education is to see the whole in the constituent parts, to see the spirit that binds them together. Remember that the power of grasping this spirit that binds them together is the method of poetry. Every one must feel that the Welsh mind is essentially poetical, that is to say philosophical, for philosophy is only poetry in undress, and as we must have often observed before this, for instance, in Plato and Tennyson, philosophy and poetry go hand in hand. Every one must feel that to run counter to the natural tendencies, to give a false bias to the Welsh mind, not to

develop natural aptitudes, not to allow schools and colleges scope to work independently, would be sacrificing much to obtain small benefits in exchange.

II.

This introduces me to the second point that I proposed for discussion. It will not take as long as the other. We proceed to ask, What results are likely to accrue from this diffusion of this new education, which we have been considering, to Welsh character and Welsh life, and to social progress, with which, naturally, education has an intimate connection?

In the first place, let me say a word about a few of the general effects, and then proceed to consider briefly some of the consequences that will ensue to particular branches of study.

First, then, as to these more general aspects of the question. There is no doubt to my mind that Wales has suffered from isolation, and to this may be ascribed some of our peculiarities and (may I say?) angularities.

Under the shadow of the University College of Wales I am told that the following incident took place. A tramp had stolen off a hedge an article of attire (which Vergil would have described as a *non enarrabile textum).* The owner gave chase, and to elude his pursuers the latterday pilgrim jumped over a quarry and met his death. Next Saturday afternoon crowds streamed to the scene of the accident. Among them were two men, and they were talking about the accident. "*Dyma lle lladdwyd y dyn,*" said one in the hearing of a cottager who lived close by and was an authority on the subject. "*Nage,*" interposed the old lady, "*nid dyn oedd o—Sais oedd o.*" But I cannot vouch for the accuracy of the story. Whatever may be said to the contrary, a want of knowledge

of our neighbours, of opportunities for measuring ourselves beside others, has bred rather a sensitive, and sometimes morbid self-consciousness. To this we may trace no small measure of that lack of confidence which has resulted in Welshmen holding aloof in a half jealous, half timid, seclusion. Now in education I see the remedy. I see the earnest of this self-reliance that we have longed for in the cluster of successes that have been achieved at Universities. I see it in the circumstance that important educational posts in England and Wales are held by Welshmen. I see it in the fact that Welshmen occupy some of the principal pulpits in England; indeed, I may say they enjoy more or less a monopoly of them. In short, while preserving, as I hope, all that is noble, all that is beautiful in Celtic character, though, perhaps, on the other hand, involving to some degree a loss of individuality, education will break down the barriers and make Welshmen more citizens of the world.

Another general effect that will flow from the progress of education will be the development of trade and commerce. It may appear from what has been said that I have been inclined to depreciate the more practical studies. Far be it from me to detract from them—provided they know their place. Newport and Cardiff would in themselves be a sufficient refutation of any attempt to disparage such pursuits. We contrast a liberal or philosophic education with a commercial education or a professional, yet no one can deny that commerce and the professions afford scope for the highest and most diversified powers of mind. It is gratifying to find, too, how many of our fellow-countrymen have succeeded in trade and commerce. Thinking that it might interest you, as it certainly interests me, I have made some enquiries of Major Jones, late United States Consul at Cardiff, about the position

occupied in the States by Welshmen. He has furnished me with interesting material, the consideration of which in detail would carry me beyond the limits imposed upon me to-night. Apparently the experience of Welshmen abroad—I say nothing about them at home, for to touch upon them here would be a presumption on my part—where constant friction with other races has struck out the sparks of originality, has amply demonstrated that the Welsh possess talents for the crafts and inventive powers equal to any. Thus, in America, there is a great demand for Welsh skilled labour; a large proportion of high and responsible offices are held by Welshmen in industrial centres, especially in mining operations, and the new tinplate industry in the Cleveland hills. "On the Alleghanies, by Lake Superior, in every place where iron and coal are rich and smoke-stacks rise, you may find at the top hands bearing Dowlais Works credentials;" and further, many important inventions owe their origin to natives of the Principality. It interested me greatly to find last year how Welsh workmen have invaded the dominions of the Czar; as you know, one town in South Russia has been founded by a Welshman (a native of Newport), developed by Welshmen, and christened by the Russians Yusova, or Hughes' Town. Again, did time permit, I should like to read a letter from a friend, the secretary to a large school in London, who comes into contact with large firms; he tells me, in brief, that he entertains a very high opinion of the business capacity displayed by the Welsh. No one will deny that Germany has been far ahead of us in technical education, and that the large sale of German goods—as Lord Rosebery, Mr. Williams, in his book *Made in Germany*, and others, have told us with more force than feeling—has inspired alarm. But now that we have in-

termediate schools with an equipment of the first order, now that the door has been fully opened to a commercial career, we trust that a new era has dawned, and that Welshmen will take a prominent place in the development of British industries and the embellishment of life.

There remains a third general effect—social and moral rather than mental—to which I may allude. It is this. I do earnestly trust that the spread of education will conduce to greater unity. Owing to the isolation, to which I referred just now, the consequent want of communication, and lack of opportunities for interchanging ideas, unworthy suspicions and recriminations have been bred. Education has ever exerted a humanising influence. Education has already brought us, geographically and socially, much closer together. Therefore it is not unnatural to indulge the hope that the saying, "*Ni bydd duhun dau Gymro*" will become obsolete, and that in future we shall more and more see "*llygad yn llygad.*"

It remains for me to enquire very briefly what effect these educational developments will have upon particular departments of study and life. Their influence, it seems to me, is likely to be three-fold, but I have already touched upon the subject, and the discussion of it need not take me long.

First, some studies will be developed, and others modified. Not only will the claims of rival studies be considered and respected, but they will affect each other. Take one case only. Not even the most Philistine Utilitarian will dare deny the use of the Classics, for in cultivating the ancient languages we are all the while laying an admirable foundation for wider culture, and this is nothing else but the liberal education of which we have been speaking. Still, the Classics will be obliged—I say it more in sorrow than in anger—to lower their pretensions. Formerly they

enjoyed the monopoly of schools and colleges. Formerly men swore by the infallibility of the Eton Grammar. In future the Classics will comprise a knowledge of the language, art, literature, history, philosophy, palæography, and mythology—all, in fact, that is comprehended in the German *Alterthumskunde*. This is a solitary instance; several other branches of study will undergo some change, modification, or reformation.

We pass on to another special effect, that is the preservation of valuable material, such as folk-lore, place-names, romance, and so forth, a wealth of which exists, but is now passing away, partly owing to the matter of fact materialism of the age, partly owing to *Dic Sion Dafyddiaeth*, partly from a common dread of appearing singular or credulous. External circumstances have contributed to their decline, especially the glare of modern criticism. No institution, not even the Gorsedd, is safe, and now they talk of laying unnatural hands on the Eisteddfod also. There is folk-lore, in which you have simply to dip in your bucket and you bring up a store of interesting material. There are manuscripts lying on dusty shelves or in musty coffers, now consigned to gloom if not doomed to oblivion. There are place-names and dialectic varieties to be collected and examined by some competent hand, so far as they have survived the ravages of Time and the Ordnance Survey. So I look forward to the rise of some competent critic who, combining the sagacity of an Englishman with the lucidity of a Frenchman and the painstaking erudition of a Teuton, will do what Grimm has done for Germany, Cocheris for France, Paterson for Hungary, and Schoolcraft for the North American Redskin, and rescue from oblivion these interesting survivals and monuments of our country's history. Why should not the Eisteddfod, if spared, be utilised for the

collection of material to be sifted by properly trained philologists and mythologists?

And lastly, we picture to ourselves a time when fresh fields will be opened up by the *alumni* of our new National University, fields which have hitherto been undeveloped and untrodden. True, great discoveries do not generally proceed from Universities themselves, for a University serves a different purpose. Its office is to communicate rather than to originate, and genius knows no law. Yet a preliminary training and unfolding of the intellect is necessary. And this brings me back to the point which I emphasised at the beginning, when talking of liberal or philosophical education. The highest ideal of teaching is that which leads the pupil along lines which an original discoverer has to pursue in his researches.[1] And does not Wales lend itself to the godlike gift of origination? Is there not an abundance of romance in Welsh chronicles, only awaiting a Welsh Walter Scott in the future to enter in and inherit it? Is there not a heap of material in the story of Welsh life—as some of our budding novelists have discovered—in the mansion and the homestead, lying ready to the hand skilled in the art of characterisation?

But I must bring this discussion to a close. When I regard the advantages enjoyed by the youth of Wales, never dreamt of in generations gone by, and the fields that are open to their ambition and energies, I am amazed. Ladies and gentlemen, to whatever branch of study the Welsh student betakes himself—whether literary or scientific—he is a happy man, and I believe he will use his opportunities to the full. I may have said something that may perhaps be construed as derogatory—it is strange how your familiar friends nowadays will put false interpre-

[1] Sonnenschein, *Ideals of Culture.*

tations and ascribe meanings and motives that you utterly repudiate—but I have said nothing but what is dictated by a desire to promote the welfare of Wales. I rejoice that the aspirations of my countrymen after education have been realised. I cannot forget the laudable love of knowledge and enlightenment that they have exhibited. I cannot forget their quickness of apprehension and impressibility, the vivacity of the Welsh temperament, the liveliness of Welsh writing, the perception of the beauties of nature, the poetic conception, the descriptive power, the luxuriance of style, the vigour of imagination. Seeing this happy combination of natural gifts and acquired qualities, the hope is kindled within me, no, the conclusion is irresistibly forced upon me, that this passionate enthusiasm and Celtic fire will increase in intensity, will burn with a yet brighter glow, and redound to the greater glory of our common country.

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UNIV. OF WICH

FIG. 1.—LATE SIXTEENTH CENTURY HOUSE AT ABERTHUN, COWBRIDGE.

ILLUSTRATIONS AND NOTES

TO

MR. T. E. ELLIS'S PAPER

ON

DOMESTIC AND DECORATIVE ART IN WALES.

BY

ROBERT WILLIAMS, F.R.I.B.A.

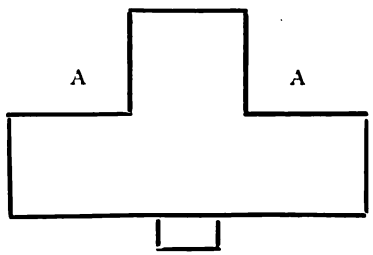
Insanitary and incomplete in many respects the old Manor Houses and Cottages of Wales undoubtedly were, but with all their defects they did not lack character; they stood four square to the winds, the rain and the sun. The thick thatch or heavy stone roof-covering supported on massive oak timbering defied the storms, and the massive walls stood unmoved through many generations.

Many of these houses still stand, and had they been but reasonably cared for many more would have been extant. Such a house is that at Aberthun (Fig. 1 [1]) built some 300 years ago, and though it is now shorn of much of its beauty, it proclaims its nameless architect (who was probably a local master-mason) to have been a man of no mean ability. The house is by no means a repetition of others of the period, but similar in character, and skil-

[1] We are indebted to Mr. Sam Hayter, of Cowbridge, for the excellent photographs (Figs. 1 & 2) which are here reproduced, and to Mr. W. Thomas, the tenant and owner, for his kind permission to measure and sketch.

fully adapted to the site, which is situate away from the main county road from Cowbridge to Pontypridd, at the northern foot of the Stalling Down, in a little valley through which runs the sparkling little brook Thun, on its way to a confluent of the Thaw or Ddawen, which runs right across the town of Cowbridge.

Let us examine the proceedings of the architect for a moment. On looking at Fig. 2, which is a back-corner view of the house, it will be seen that the ground rises rapidly at the back, and here the architect made a considerable excavation, although he had plenty of space without excavating, yet he chose to push his house as far as possible from the foot of the down. He planned his house as a letter T with a very short stem, the cross forming the long front, thus:—



This plan enabled him to get plenty of light at A A for his numerous rooms. Now, if we turn again to Fig. 1 we shall see that the house is approached by a long path bordered by fine old clipped hedges; on the right is an ample kitchen garden, and on the left an orchard. The little brook already mentioned runs in front at right angles to the path, and is crossed by a low stone bridge, which forms an approach to what was once an exceedingly picturesque lodge, consisting of a central archway (with its massive doors and hinges still in position), over which there is a room. The archway was flanked originally by

FIG. 2.—BACK OF HOUSE AT ABERTHUN, COWBRIDGE.

two wings which might have formed two cottages, or, in the troublous times of faction and other fights, a cottage and small armoury. One only of the wings still stands, the other was taken down unnecessarily some time since. Between the brook and the foot of the down there is a rough parish road, from which the down rises abruptly. It will now be seen why the architect pushed his house so far into the rising ground on the other side of the valley. He wanted to utilise the whole width of the valley, about 200 yards, to break the abruptness of the direct view of the Stalling Down, and to extend the lateral views; he also desired that the full force of the sun should be concentrated upon his principal rooms.

The undoubted care taken in selecting this site, away in a spot secluded from the main road (hence its being unvisited by "descriptive" writers) bears out Mr. Ellis's remarks as to the choice of a site.

As to the architectural character of the building. The general aspect and grouping are pleasant. The three gables in the front are of good proportion and inclination, and could we but call to mind the thick stone roofing slabs—brought, doubtless, from Llantrisant, six miles distant—the parapets of the gables, with their well-moulded Sutton stone copings, the simple though well-proportioned finials, and the heavy stone ridge-covers, we should see a building not unworthy a master of the craft.

The shorn verges of the main gables to the left and right, occasioned by the modern slated roof, give the house a bald, unfinished appearance, greatly unlike what it was as it left the hands of the architect.

The house was built at a time when the four-centred or Tudor arch had become flattened almost to a straight line. The windows are all square-headed; the heads of the doorways on the exterior, and those of the fire-places in

the interior, only, have the arched form, and these of an exceedingly flat elevation.

The windows are pleasantly disposed, and diminish in width as they ascend. This arrangement of windows seems to have been a canon of architecture in the olden days, and we moderns might do well to follow so pleasing a feature.

But the windows, for some reason or other, and though they abound in great numbers in every conceivable position, many being now walled up, are small, much smaller than windows of the same period elsewhere; but, again, they are so placed, with regard to the rooms to which they give light, that the maximum of sunshine is obtained, and with this object in view they are set, as regards their heights, as nearly as possible in the centre of the wall, the sides having a good slope, as illustrated by the "roomy" window Fig. 5, taken from a house of the same period at Llantwit Major. The amount of light, as seen during a visit, was singularly ample and pleasant for so small a window. Nevertheless, the windows *are* small, and their square heads and somewhat characterless mouldings, show clearly the incipient decadence of domestic architecture. Some of the earlier four-centred windows at Llantrithyd, Llantwit, Coity, Trelales, and other places, have far better proportions and mouldings.

Of course, the interior of the house is much altered. All the old fire-places are gone, save one or two in the attics. The old wainscotting is gone, but the massive staircase remains, with its three-inch turned balusters and six-inch and seven-inch square newels.

The porch is roomy, and has on the inner side its original door. Over the porch is a broken sun-dial, similar to that over the archway of the entrance lodge.

The chimneys show that the architect knew, as some

FIG. 3.

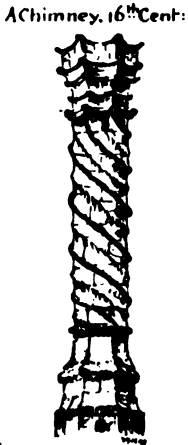


FIG. 4.

FIG. 5.—SIXTEENTH CENTURY WINDOW IN A HOUSE AT LLANTWIT MAJOR.

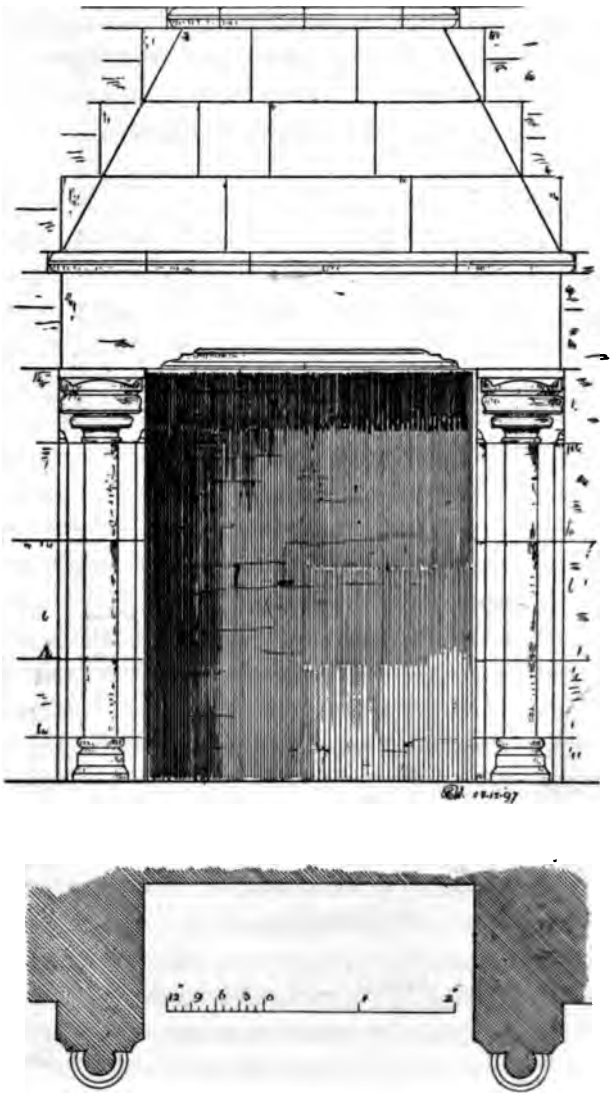


FIG. 6.—THIRTEENTH CENTURY FIREPLACE, LLANDOUGH CASTLE

FIG. 7.—"Y FANTELL FAWR", MODERNIZED.

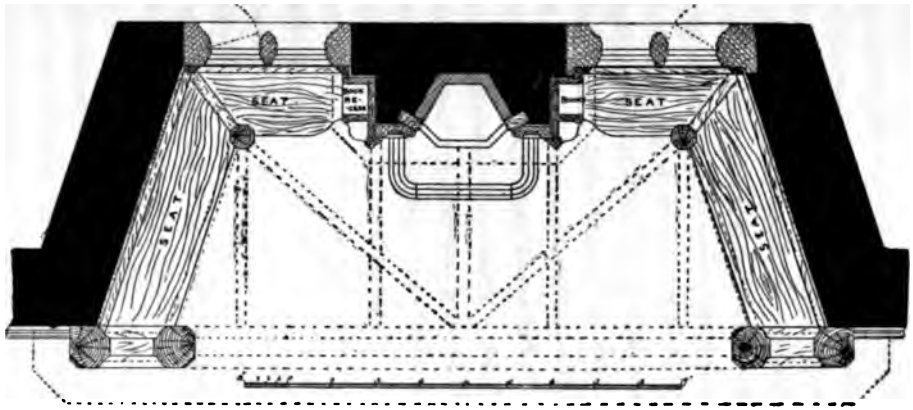


FIG. 8.—PLAN OF "Y FANTELL FAWR", MODERNIZED.

moderns do to their cost, that smoke will not be played with. Uneasy, indeed, lies the head of the architect who leaves behind him a smoky chimney.

The illustrations (Figs. 2, 3, and 4) show that the Tudor architects, whether in England or in Wales, were mindful to construct long chimneys, and in the East of England, as at Layer Marney, whence sketch Fig. 3 was taken, the excellent brick material lent itself to the "sinuous" play of architectural fancy. Fig. 4 is more like the Welsh work. It is from the Vicars' Close at Wells, in Somersetshire, between the masons of which county and those of Glamorganshire and the border counties there was, in mediæval times, much intercourse. Vessels often crossed the Hafren (Bristol Channel) laden with stone, and often with men, hence the similarity of much of the work.

The earlier fire-places were smaller at first, thus Fig. 6 is a 13th century fire-place built in an earlier part of Llandough Castle, soon after the partition of Glamorgan among the Norman followers of Robert FitzHammon. The fire-place did not reach the ample dimensions of "Y Fantell Fawr" until the Tudor period. There are some comparatively small fire-places to be found in some of our old castles, as at Raglan, Llandough, Llanblethian and Coity. *Y Fantell fawr*, or great mantel, was a prominent Tudor feature, and when the chimney came into general use it became a feature of our cottages, farm and manor houses, and was made large, mainly, because of the space required for the wood or peat fire, and for the accommodation of the great crock swinging on its iron crane, and for the great oven in the thickness of the wall at its side. The enormous thickness of the wall which carried the chimney gave accommodation for seats, on

which, and on the settles drawn close up on winter nights, were gathered the family, the gossips and local bards, while the winds without would

". . . . . blaw,
And bar the doors wi' driving snaw,"

the tales within of wreck, ghost, witch, or great exploit, went round with many a quip and crank of repartee.

The illustration Fig. 8 is the plan, and Fig. 7 is the elevation of a suggestion for modernising "y fantell fawr".

A polygonal recess at the end of a large room or hall is framed in with a stout oak screen, which forms the great mantel. In the centre of the back of the recess is set a modern Teale fire-place, arranged for the burning of coal or wood on the hearth. The fire-place is immediately surrounded with stone and tile work, and a mantel-piece fitted with shelves and recesses for curiosities, those shown being drawn from illustrations of Italo-Greek sepulchral vases, published by Raffaele Garguilo at Naples in 1831. On the sides of the inner mantel-piece and at right angles to the front, not seen in the elevation, but shown on the plan, are handy recesses for books. It will also be seen that on either side are seats, and a reference to the plan (Fig. 8) will show their extent; and for comfort in reading, the two casements with lead glazing, one on either side of the fire-place, give ample light. The sketch of the helmet resting on the outer mantel is that of one actually found in an old hall in Norfolk.

The Welsh motto, Bydded cariad a Ffydd wrth Bob Aelwyd ym Mhrydain, has an f left out of the word ffydd. My friend, our good secretary, said I might defend the single f on the score of antiquity! But the defence would not be fair to antiquity, so we must let the blame rest on the proper shoulders.

Cymmrodorion Record Series.

THE idea of the publication of Welsh Records, which had for some time occupied the thoughts of leading Welsh Scholars, took a definite and practical shape at the meeting of the Cymmrodorion Section of the National Eisteddfod held at Brecon in 1889. In the papers which were read at that meeting it was shown that a vast quantity of material necessary for understanding the history of Wales still remained buried in public and private Libraries, and also that such of the Welsh Chronicles as had been given to the world had been edited in a manner which had not fulfilled the requirements of modern scholarship.

As it appeared that the Government declined to undertake any further publication of purely Welsh Records, it was suggested by Sir John Williams that the Council of the Cymmrodorion Society should take the work in hand, and establish a separate fund for that purpose.

The Council are of opinion that a work of this magnitude cannot be left to private enterprise, although they thankfully acknowledge the indebtedness of all Welshmen to such men as Mr. G. T. Clark of Talygarn, the Rev. Canon Silvan Evans, Mr. J. Gwenogfryn Evans, Mr. Owen Edwards, Mr. Egerton Phillimore, and Professor John Rhys, and they fully appreciate the valuable work done by members of the various Antiquarian Societies.

Private enterprise has enabled the Council to issue, without cost to the Society, the first number of the Series which they have undertaken. The edition of *Owen's Pembrokeshire*, two parts of which have already been issued), is the result to Mr. Henry Owen—a member of the Society's Council—of long and arduous labour, and of an expenditure of a sum of money which would enable any patriotic Welshman who follows that example to present similar numbers of the proposed Series to his countrymen.

The second number of the Series consists of Records from the Ruthin Court Rolls (A.D. 1294-5), edited by Mr. R. Arthur Roberts, of the Public Record Office. *A Catalogue of the Welsh Manuscripts in the British Museum*; a transcript of *The Black Book of St. David's*, and new editions of *Nennius* and *Gildas* are in course of preparation.

In the future numbers of the Series will be published, from public or private MSS., with Introductions and Notes by competent scholars, such Records as will throw light on some period of Welsh History. These publications will, the Council trust, go far to remove from the Principality the dishonour of being the only nation in Europe which is without anything approaching to a scientific history.

It is hoped to issue annually one number of the Series. The cost of each number will, it is anticipated, be about £250. To ensure a continuity of publication, it is necessary to form a Permanent Capital Fund, and this the Society of Cymmrodorion have resolved to do. This Fund, of which Sir John Williams, Bart., Sir W. Thomas Lewis, Bart., and Mr. Henry Owen, F.S.A., are the Trustees, will be under the control of the Council, but will be kept separate from the general fund of the Society. It will be applicable solely to the purposes herein designated, and an account of receipts and payments will be submitted to each contributor.

Towards the expenses of publication the Council have found themselves in a position to set aside, from time to time, from the Society's General Fund the sum of £150, a contribution which they trust a large accession of members to the ranks of the Society will speedily enable them to augment.

The Council confidently appeal to all Welshmen for sympathy and help in this really national enterprise. Welshmen are proverbially proud of the antiquities of their land. To place the record of these antiquities within the reach of every Welsh student in an accurate and intelligible form, and to enable him to understand the growth of the national and individual life, is a work which should unite all Welshmen for the benefit of their countrymen, and for the honour of Wales.

BUTE, *President*.
E. VINCENT EVANS, *Secretary*.

CYMMRODORION LIBRARY,
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***** Cheques may be sent to E. VINCENT EVANS, Secretary to the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion, 64, Chancery Lane, W.C., crossed "London Joint Stock Bank, Limited, to the credit of the Cymmrodorion Record Series Fund."**

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The Right Hon. LORD KENSINGTON.
The Right Hon. LORD KENYON.
The Right Hon. LORD WINDSOR.
Lord-Justice VAUGHAN WILLIAMS.

Sir WATKIN WILLIAMS WYNN, Bart.
Sir ROBERT A. CUNLIFFE, Bart.
Sir W. THOMAS LEWIS, Bart.
Sir GEORGE OSBORNE MORGAN, Bart., M.P. *(deceased)*.
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Lieut.-General Sir JAMES HILLS-JOHNES, G.C.B., V.C.
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Sir WALTER MORGAN.
Sir LEWIS MORRIS.
Sir JOHN H. PULESTON.
W. CORNWALLIS WEST, Lord Lieutenant, co. Denbigh.
H. R. HUGHES, Lord Lieut., co. Flint.
OWEN M. EDWARDS, M.A.
THOMAS E. ELLIS, M.P.
D. BRYNMÔR JONES, Q.C., M.P.
The Very Rev. The DEAN OF LLANDAFF *(deceased)*.
The ARCHDEACON OF LLANDAFF *(deceased)*.
His Honour JUDGE OWEN.
His Honour JUDGE LEWIS *(deceased)*.
His Honour JUDGE PARRY.
His Honour JUDGE GWILYM WILLIAMS.
WILLIAM RATHBONE.
J. IGNATIUS WILLIAMS.
WILLIAM R. M. WYNNE, Lord Lieutenant, co. Merioneth.

Council.

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E. VINCENT EVANS.
WILLIAM EVANS.
ELLIS J. GRIFFITH, M.P.
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R. HENRY JENKINS.
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EDWARD OWEN.
HENRY OWEN, B.C.L.Oxon., F.S.A.
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RICHARD ROBERTS, B.A.
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D. LLEUFER THOMAS, B.A.
HOWEL THOMAS.
JOHN THOMAS *(Pencerdd Gwalia)*.
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J. W. WILLIS-BUND, F.S.A.

Secretary.

E. VINCENT EVANS.

The Transactions

of the Honourable

Society of Cymmrodorion.

SESSION 1897-98.

LONDON:
ISSUED BY THE SOCIETY.
NEW STONE BUILDINGS, 64, CHANCERY LANE.
1899.

President:—The Most Hon. the Marquess of Bute, K.T.

THE HONOURABLE SOCIETY OF CYMMRODORION, originally founded under Royal patronage in 1751, was revived in 1873, with the object of bringing into closer contact Welshmen, particularly those resident out of Wales, who are anxious to advance the welfare of their country; and of enabling them to unite their efforts for that purpose. Its especial aims are the improvement of Education, and the promotion of intellectual culture by the encouragement of Literature, Science, and Art, as connected with Wales.

Meetings of the Society are held in London during the Spring and Summer months, for the Reading of Papers on Literary, Scientific, and Artistic subjects, and for the discussion of practical questions within the scope of the Society's aims. A Series of Meetings is annually held in Wales in connection with the National Eisteddfod, under the name of "THE CYMMRODORION SECTION", to promote the consideration of Educational, Literary, and Social Questions affecting the Principality. It was from these meetings that the "NATIONAL EISTEDDFOD ASSOCIATION", the "SOCIETY OF WELSH MUSICIANS", and the "SOCIETY FOR UTILISING THE WELSH LANGUAGE" sprang: the latter being the outcome of the inquiries instituted by the Society of Cymmrodorion in 1884 and 1885.

The Society's collection of books, formed by the bequests of the late Joseph Edwards and the late Henry Davies, and by subsequent donations and purchases, is open to the use of Members as a Lending Library.

Subscription to the Society, entitling to copies of all its publications, and admission to all meetings:—One Guinea per annum.

Application for membership should be addressed to the Secretary, E. Vincent Evans, New Stone Buildings, 64, Chancery Lane, London, W.C.

LIST OF THE SOCIETY'S PUBLICATIONS.

Y Cymmrodor, Vols. ii, iv, v, vi, vii, viii, ix, x, xi, xii, 10*s.* 6*d.* per volume. [Vols. i and iii are out of print.]

The History of the Cymmrodorion. Out of print.

A Dictionary in Englyshe and Welshe, by Wyllyam Salesbury (1547). Facsimile, black letter. 4 parts, 2*s.* 6*d.* each.

The Gododin of Aneurin Gwawdrydd, by Thomas Stephens, Author of *The Literature of the Kymry.* 6 parts, 2*s.* 6*d.* each.

An Essay on Pennillion Singing (Hanes ac Henafiaeth Canu Gyda'r Tannau) by J. Jones (*Idris Vychan*). 1 part, 2*s.* 6*d.*

Ystorya de Carolo Magno (from the "Red Book of Hergest"). 1 part, 2*s.* 6*d.*

Athravaeth Gristnogavl (from the unique copy belonging to the late Prince Louis Lucien Bonaparte, originally printed at Milan, A.D. 1568). 1 part, 2*s.* 6*d.*

The Blessednes of Brytaine, by Maurice Kyffin (1587). 1 part, 1*s.* 6*d.*

Gerald the Welshman, by Henry Owen, B.C.L. Oxon., F.S.A. Demy 8vo., vellum cloth, gilt, 10*s.*

The Description of Pembrokeshire, by George Owen of Henllys. Edited by Henry Owen, B.C.L. Oxon., F.S.A. Being No. 1 of the *Cymmrodorion Record Series.* 2 parts, 21*s.* Issued free to Members of the Society, by the Editor.

The Court Rolls of the Lordship of Ruthin or Dyffryn-Clwyd, of the Reign of King Edward the First, preserved in the Public Record Office. Edited, with Translations, Notes, etc., by R. Arthur Roberts, of H.M. Public Record Office. Being No. 2 of the *Cymmrodorion Record Series.* Price 21*s.* Issued free to Members of the Society.

The Transactions of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion (Sessions, 1892-93, 1893-94, 1894-95, 1895-96, 1896-97, 1897-98).

Gweithiau Iolo Goch: Gyda Nodiadau Hanesyddol a Beirniadol, gan Charles Ashton. The Works of Iolo Goch. Price 10*s.* 6*d.*

To be obtained on application to the Secretary, at the Cymmrodorion Library, 64, Chancery Lane, London, W.C.

THE

TRANSACTIONS

OF

THE HONOURABLE

SOCIETY OF CYMMRODORION.

SESSION 1897–98.

LONDON:

ISSUED BY THE SOCIETY,

NEW STONE BUILDINGS, 64, CHANCERY LANE.

1899.

DEVIZES:
PRINTED BY GEORGE SIMPSON.

CONTENTS.

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL for 1897-8 v

STATEMENT OF RECEIPTS AND PAYMENTS for 1897-8 ... xi

Early Welsh Bibliography. *(With Facsimile Illustrations).* By J. H. DAVIES, M.A. 1

John Wilkinson and the Old Bersham Iron Works. *(With Illustrations).* By ALFRED NEOBARD PALMER ... 23

Welsh Folk-Music. By MISS MARY OWEN (Mrs. Ellis J. Griffith) 65

The Character of the Heresy of the Early British Church. By FRED C. CONYBEARE, M.A. 84

The Greater Britain of the Sixth Century : Note ... 117

REPORT

OF

THE COUNCIL OF THE

Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion,

For the Year ending November 9th, 1898.

PRESENTED TO THE ANNUAL MEETING, HELD ON THURSDAY, 17TH OF NOVEMBER, 1898.

THE Council have the honour to report that during the past year 36 new members were added to the Society.

Amongst the losses sustained by the Society during the twelve months the Council regrets to record that of Sir Edward Burne Jones, whose decease in June last deprived the world of a distinguished scholar and a great artist. The death roll also includes that of Mr. Thomas Owen, M.P., and the names of two of the oldest members of the Society, viz., Mr. George Thomas, of Ely, and Mr. William Jones, of Arthog.

During the year the following Meetings were held in London, viz.:—

1897.

November 18.—THE ANNUAL MEETING OF THE MEMBERS, held at the Society's Rooms.

December 13.—THE ANNUAL DINNER, held at the Hotel Metropole. Lord Justice Vaughan-Williams in the chair.

1898.

January 19—Paper on "Early Welsh Bibliography," by Mr. J. H. Davies, M.A.

March 9—Paper on "John Wilkinson and the Old Bersham Ironworks," by Mr. Alfred Neobard Palmer.

March 26th—Paper on "Welsh Folk-Music," by Miss Mary Owen (Mrs. Ellis J. Griffith).

April 20—Paper on "The Greater Wales of the VIth Century," by Mr. Ernest Rhys (*Rhys Goch o Ddyfed*).

May 11—Paper on "The Character of the Heresy of the Early British Church," by Mr. Fred C. Conybeare, M.A.

In Wales:—

At the Assembly Rooms, Blaenau Festiniog, in connection with the National Eisteddfod of Wales, 1898 (Cymmrodorion Section), the following meetings were held:—

On July 18th, 1898.—Addresses (in Welsh and English) on "Technical Education in Wales," by Principal Roberts, University College of Wales (Aberystwyth); Mr. Lewis J. Roberts, H.M. Inspector of Schools, Rhyl; Mr. R. E. Hughes, H.M. Inspector of Schools, Cardiff; and other Educationists: Chairman, Principal Reichel, University College of North Wales.

On July 20th, 1898 (in the Glanypwll Board School).—Joint Meeting of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion, and the Society for the Utilization of the Welsh Language: papers (in Welsh) by Mr. E. E. Fournier, of Dublin (*Negesydd o'r Ynys Werdd*), and Mr. Ernest Rhys (*Rhys Goch o Ddyfed*), on "The Present Position of the Five Living Celtic Languages." Chairman: Principal John Rhys, M.A., Oxford.

It is a satisfaction to the Council to feel that these sectional meetings were more successful than any held in this connection for a great number of years, and shewed a distinct revival of interest in the questions brought forward from time to time for discussion under the auspices of the Society.

The arrangements for the coming Session include:—A Symposium on the "Development of Welsh Industries," at which Lady Eva Wyndham-Quin will open a Discussion. A Paper by the Rev. S. Baring Gould, M.A., on the

"Early Stone Fortifications in Wales and elsewhere," which will be delivered in the month of January. A Paper by Mr. Brynmôr Jones, Q.C., M.P., on "Some Aspects of Early Social Life in Wales," based on studies which the Lecturer and Principal Rhys have undertaken in connection with a recent Welsh Governmental Enquiry. A Paper by Mr. Isaac Foulkes (Llyfrbryf), Liverpool, on "Hen Argraphwyr Cymru." A Paper on "Geoffrey of Monmouth," by Professor W. Lewis Jones, of Bangor, which it is hoped may lead to the issue of a new edition of the works of that writer.

It is proposed to hold the Annual Dinner on Monday, the 28th of November, and the Council have great pleasure in making known that the Right Hon. Lord Kenyon (whose family were connected with this Society at its earliest inception) has accepted an invitation to preside on the occasion.

During the year the following Publications have been issued to Members:—

Part 2 of *Owen's Pembrokeshire* consisting of Collections for Pembrokeshire—List of Pembrokeshire Manors—Catalogue and Genealogy of the Lords of Kemes—Kemes Tracts—Inquisitio Post Mortem, William Owen and George Owen—The Description of Milford Haven—Milford Tracts. (Presented to members by the Editor, Mr. Henry Owen, F.S.A.)

Volume xii of *Y Cymmrodor* containing "The Court of the President and Council of Wales and the Marches from 1478 to 1575," by Judge Lewis; "Offa's and Wat's Dykes," by Mr. A. N. Palmer; and a paper on "Celtic Art," by Mr. T. H. Thomas, R.C.A.

The *Transactions* for the Session 1896-7, containing the following papers:—An Article on "Music in Wales," by Mr. Joseph Bennett; "Domestic and Decorative Art in Wales," by Mr. Thomas E. Ellis, M.P.; "Suggestions as to the Fuller Study of Owen Glyndwr," by Owen Rhoscomyl and Mr. Hubert Hall, F.S.A.; and an address on "Recent Developments in Welsh Education," by the Rev. G. Hartwell Jones, M.A.

The Society is indebted to one of its Members, Mr. Robert Williams, F.R.I.B.A., for a series of Illustrations to the Article on "Domestic and Decorative Art in Wales."

With regard to forthcoming Publications, the Council beg to report that the *Transactions* for the Year (which will shortly be issued) contains the following Papers:—"Early Welsh Bibliography," by Mr. J. H. Davies, M.A., with facsimile Illustrations of the Title-pages of the earliest printed Welsh Books; and an Illustrated "History of John Wilkinson and the Old Bersham Iron Works," by Mr. Alfred Neobard Palmer, the well-known local historian of Wrexham. Also the interesting Paper by Miss Mary Owen (Mrs. Ellis J. Griffith) on "Welsh Folk Music," as well as Mr. F. C. Conybeare's important Contribution to the "History of the Early British Church."

For the first part of the New Series of *Y Cymmrodor* the following Papers are in course of production, viz.:—"A Bibliographical Account of the Works of Vicar Prichard," by Mr. John Ballinger, of the Cardiff Free Libraries; a collation of the Welsh Manuscript Society's Edition of the *Cambro-British Saints* by Professor Kuno Meyer; and a number of original Documents from the Record Office illustrating the late Judge Lewis's article on "The Court of the President and Council of Wales and the Marches," edited by Mr. D. Lleufer Thomas.

Considerable difficulty has been experienced by the Council in obtaining an absolutely accurate transcript of *The Black Book of St. David's*. Arrangements have been made with Mr. W. K. Boyd (a well-known expert) to collate the Copy with the Text and to correct all errors of the press. It is to be hoped that the Text, together with Mr. Willis-Bund's translation, will appear early in the ensuing year.

The Council have much gratification in announcing that

definite arrangements have been made with the Rev. Professor Hugh Williams, M.A., of Bala, for the production of a new Edition of *Gildas*. The Text and the Translation are in the printer's hands and will be issued as early as possible as a first part.

The second part will consist of an important Introductory Essay by Professor Williams, dealing with the book and its place in Literature, the authors who make use of it and their object in doing so, the attempt to fix the approximate date of the work, the author's motives and aims, and the light thrown by the work on the Invasion of Britain by the Irish, Picts and Saxons, and the Christianising of Britain, and the story of its Church Usages.

Considerable progress has been made by Mr. Edward Owen, F.S.A., with the *Catalogue of Manuscripts relating to Wales at the British Museum* which he is preparing for the Society. The Council hope to issue the Catalogue in parts in the course of the ensuing year.

The Council desire to record their special thanks to the Marquess of Bute (the President of the Society) and the Marchioness of Bute for the most generous and hospitable manner in which they entertained the Members at their London House at the close of the last Session.

During the year the Cardiff Corporation, with the support of other Local Bodies, promoted a Memorial to Her Majesty the Queen in Council with the object of obtaining a recognition of the Armorial Bearings of Wales on the National Standard. The Council of this Society, being approached on the subject, expressed their willingness to give the movement such independent support as might be deemed expedient should the matter take a practical shape. Recently, however, in deference to an opinion expressed by the Marquess of Salisbury, in which he hoped that the question would not at the present time

be pressed, it has been deemed inexpedient to take any further prominent action at this juncture. The Council hold themselves open, however, to render such assistance to the movement in the future as they may deem fit and necessary.

With a view to assisting the movement recently initiated by the Welsh Industries Association, which has for its object the encouragement and development of Local Industries in Wales, the Council have arranged for the Meeting already referred to in the earlier part of this Report, and they trust that the Members will endeavour to show their appreciation of the efforts made by giving their presence at the Meeting.

The Council desire to acknowledge the following presents received for the Library, viz. :—

Volume I of *Owen's Pembrokeshire*, being No. 1 of the Cymmrodorion Record Series, presented by the Editor, Mr. Henry Owen, F.S A.

By-gones, presented by Messrs. Woodall, Minshall and Co.

Under the Society's Rules the terms of Office of the following Officers expire, viz. :—The President, the Vice-Presidents, and the Auditors, and ten members of the Council retire in accordance with Rule 4, viz. :—

Henry Owen, F.S.A.
Isambard Owen, M.D., M A.
Egerton Phillimore, M.A.
John Rhys, LL.D., M.A.
Fredk. T. Roberts, M.A.
H. Lloyd Roberts.
R. Arthur Roberts, M.A.
Richard Roberts, B.A.
J. Romilly Allen, F.S.A.
D. Lleufer Thomas, B.A.

The Financial Statement for the year is appended to this Report.

THE HONOURABLE SOCIETY OF CYMMRODORION.

Statement of Receipts and Payments.

FROM 9TH NOVEMBER, 1897, TO 9TH NOVEMBER, 1898.

Cr.

	£	s.	d.
To Balance in hand, November 9th, 1897 ...	46	15	0
„ Subscriptions received	378	1	6
„ Sale of Publications	7	9	10
	£432	6	4

Dr.

	£	s.	d.
By Rent of Offices, Hire of Lecture Room, &c....	73	8	3
„ Publications: cost of Printing and Distributing	87	2	4
„ General Printing	20	9	3
„ Lectures, Meetings, and Conversazione ...	22	14	0
„ Library: Books and Fittings	11	5	0
„ Stationery, Postage, Petty Expenses, and Advertising...	20	5	1
„ Cheque Book	0	8	4
„ Secretary's Remuneration	50	0	0
Balance in hand (subject to payment of sundry liabilities for 1898)	146	14	1
	£432	6	4

JOHN BURRELL,
ELLIS W. DAVIES, } *Auditors.*

H. LLOYD ROBERTS, *Treasurer.*
E. VINCENT EVANS, *Secretary.*

TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion.

SESSION 1897-98.

EARLY WELSH BIBLIOGRAPHY.*

By J. H. DAVIES, M.A.

Of recent years considerable progress has been made in the study of Welsh Bibliography owing to the publication of the *Cambrian Bibliography* in 1869, and to the formation of great public libraries, such as those at Cardiff and Swansea. A large number of articles dealing with the subject have appeared at intervals in periodicals concerning themselves with Welsh or Celtic literature, and chief among these are the contributions of the Rev. Chancellor Silvan Evans and the late Rev. John Peter, of Bala. Nevertheless, a great deal remains to be done, and every year brings to light new and important facts which have hitherto escaped the notice of even the most ardent students of our literature. It is desirable, therefore, that these data should be preserved in such a manner as to be available for everybody who takes an interest in the subject, and when one considers the practical difficulties which stand in the way of the publication of a new edition of

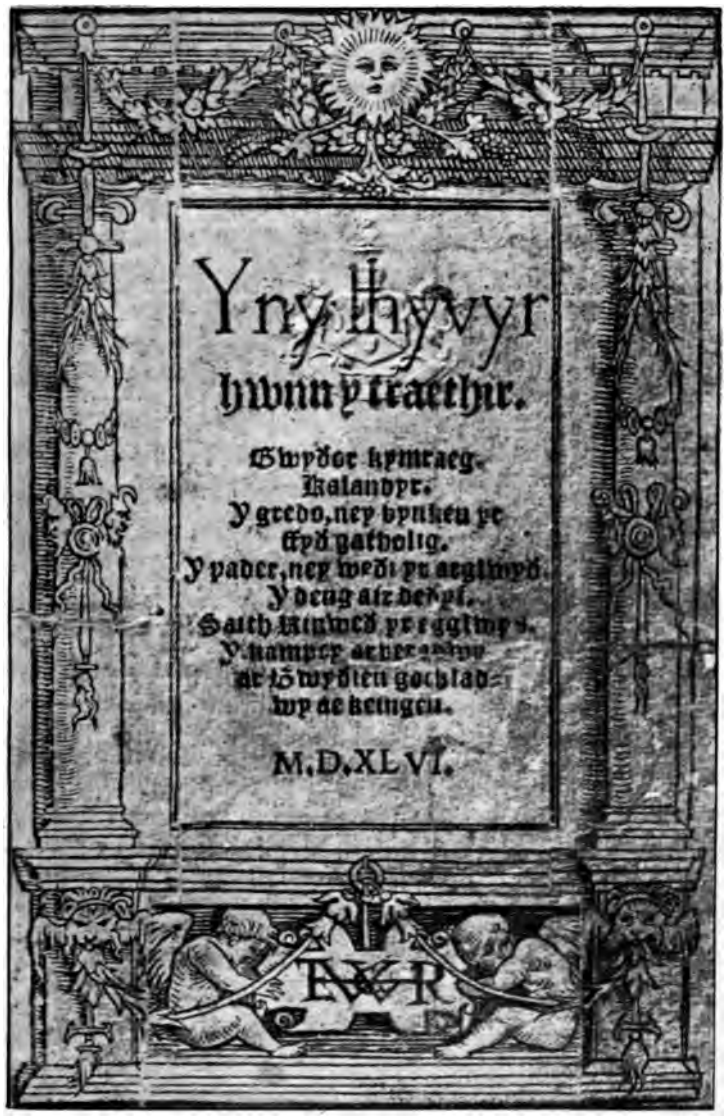
* Read before the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion at 20, Hanover Square, on Wednesday, January 19, 1898. Chairman, Sir John Williams, Bart.

Rowlands's *Bibliography*, it seems wiser to publish whatever is known, incomplete though it may be, in the pages of one of our numerous periodicals.

These remarks will explain the somewhat sketchy nature of the paper which follows—as the writer has often been obliged to throw up a promising line of research owing to lack of time or opportunity, and has contented himself mainly with making additions to or emendations of the labours of previous workers in the field. He has also restricted himself to early Welsh books, and has not entered into the much larger field of eighteenth century literature.

The first and most interesting question to be settled by the student of Welsh Books is: Which was the first book printed in the Welsh language, and who was the author of it?

A glance at Rowlands's *Bibliography* will inform the reader that the first Welsh book was a Primer published in 1546, and supposed to have been translated either by Sir John Price, of Brecon, or by William Salesbury. But it is evident that neither Rowlands nor any of his correspondents had seen the book, so that little or no information regarding it can be gleaned from the *Bibliography*. Rowlands derived his information from the catalogue of Welsh books published by the Rev. Moses Williams in 1717, and in connection with this he made a curious blunder. Moses Williams arranged his catalogue in alphabetical order, and placed books of a common nature under the same heading. In this manner he placed the Primer as the first book under the heading "Bible", indicating that its contents were mainly scriptural. Rowlands, however, took the word Bible to be part of the title page of the Primer, and elaborately explains that it was printed at the top of the title page in large type so as



FACSIMILE TITLE-PAGE OF FIRST PRINTED WELSH BOOK (1546).

to attract the attention of ignorant people. Subsequent writers have gone so far as to state that the Primer was in fact the first edition of the Welsh Bible, whereas it does not contain, with the exception of the Ten Commandments, any portion of Holy Writ.

Its title page is as follows:—

> Yn y | Lhyvyr | hwnn y traethir | Gwydor kymraeg | Kalandyr | y gredo, ney bynkeu yr | ffyd gatholig | y pader, ney wedi yr Arglwyd | y deng air dedyf | Saith Rinwed yr Egglwys | y kampey arveradwy | ar gwydieu gochlad | wy ae keingieu | M.D. XLVI.

It consists of sixteen leaves with a page of errata, and was printed by Edward Whitchurch, in London. Its main object was to teach the people to read the Welsh language correctly, and to instruct them in the principles of the Christian Church.

The first reference to the book is found in the *Epistle to the Welsh People*, 1567, written by Bishop Richard Davies, of St. David's. "To such an extent was the Welsh language neglected," says Bishop Davies, "that the printing press brought no Welsh books to the country until, of recent years, William Salesbury printed the Gospels and Epistles used in Church,[1] *and Sir John Prys, the Paternoster, the Creed and the Ten Commandments.*"

Bishop Humphreys, in his *Additions to Wood*, also mentions the book, and describes it as an Almanac, probably because it contained the calendar, together with other matter usually found in Almanacs.

As before stated, Moses Williams, in his *Cofrestr*, gives the title page of the book, and Ames also in his *Typographical Antiquities*, 1749, gives the title page and a description of it. At that time a copy of the book was in the possession of Mr. William Jones, F.R.S., better known

[1] Published in 1551.

as the father of Sir William Jones, the Oriental scholar, and from him it passed, with the remainder of Jones's library, into the collection of the second Earl of Macclesfield, at Shirburn Castle, where it still remains.

There has been some difference of opinion as to its authorship. Gwallter Mechain, Canon Silvan Evans, and Dr. Lewis Edwards were inclined to attribute it to Salesbury, whilst Rowlands and the Rev. John Peter thought it the work of Sir John Prys. The latter were undoubtedly correct in their surmise, for not only does the direct testimony of Bishops Davies and Humphreys support them, but the character of the language and orthography are totally distinct from those of Salesbury. In fact, were there no direct testimony in existence, one would be safe in asserting that the writer was a native of South Wales, from his use of words peculiar to Glamorgan and Brecon, and from the general character of his orthography.

Sir John Prys, or Price, lived at Brecon, and was for many years the King's Attorney, taking an active part in that monarch's marital differences. He also acted as one of the Crown agents in the Suppression of the Monasteries and appears to have reaped a good harvest therefrom. His name constantly figures in the State Papers, and he seems to have enjoyed a portion of the King's confidence. The *Historiæ Britannicæ Defensio*, written by him in defence of "Geoffrey of Monmouth", when the latter's history was attacked by Polydore Vergil, was his chief work, and was published after his death in 1573.

The Primer of 1546 has an interesting introduction, in which Prys states that he was prevailed upon to publish the book, because of the large number of Welshmen who knew no language but Welsh. The book consists of a Preface by the author, directions how to read Welsh and how to sound the letters, a Calendar giving Saints' days

with the feasts of many Welsh Saints, an Almanac for twenty years, information as to the changes of the moon, etc.; the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, the Ten Commandments, the Seven Virtues, the Seven Deadly Sins, together with other prayers and holy instructions. The greater part of the book is a mere translation of the English Primers of the time, but considerable additions have been made to the Calendar; and the latter portion of the book may be an original contribution or an extract from some devotional work.

The following is a specimen of the additions made to the Calendar and inserted at the foot of each page :—

CHWEFROR.

"y mis hwnn tynn y mwsswng o dyar dy goed ffrwyth, torr y keingyey dyfyrlhyd, dod goed byw a choed rhos ar vath hynny, scathra a phlyg dy berth yn niwed y lheuad, dod gyffion koed ievaink a cheingieu a chlwmmey yn y lhawnlhoer," etc.

These directions as to gardening and planting, irresistibly remind one of similar directions to be found in the Almanacs which emanate from Caergybi and Aberteifi at the present time. There is one curious blunder or omission in the book. Sir John purports to give the Ten Commandments *(deng air deddyf)*, but he only gives nine of them, and curiously enough—when one remembers that Sir John received a goodly portion of the lands of the Welsh Monasteries, the one he omits is the eighth—"Thou shalt not steal."

I have said that the Primer was the first Welsh book, but this is not absolutely certain, for in the same year, or very soon afterwards, William Salesbury published a book which bears the following title :—

"Oll Synnwyr | pen | Kembero | y gyd | wedy r gynull, ei gynnwys ae | gyfansoddi mewn crynodab ddos | parthus a threfn odidawc drwy | ddyual ystryw | Gruffyd Hi- | raethoc prydydd o Wy- | nedd | Is-Conwy |

This book was printed by Nicholas Hyll, but without date. It contains 64 pages. It has a long and interesting preface by William Salesbury, the remainder of the book being taken up with the Welsh Proverbs, collected by Gruffydd Hiraethog, a Welsh bard of the sixteenth century.

Salesbury, in his preface, gives an account of the manner in which he had become possessed of Gruffyth Hiraethog's book. It seems that the bard and he travelled up to London together, and on the way Gruffydd allowed Salesbury to read his proverbs.

The latter took advantage of the opportunity and copied it all out without Hiraethog's knowledge, afterwards passing it through the press. Incidentally, he suggests that it would be a good thing were other Welsh books purloined for the same purpose, as so many people would become possessed of a knowledge of Welsh literature who could never hope to become acquainted with it in any other way.

It is an interesting fact that a MS. book of Gruffydd Hiraethog's proverbs, in what Mr. Gwenogvryn Evans thinks is the bard's autograph, is preserved at Peniarth. This may turn out to be the very book secretly copied by Salesbury.

There is also in the British Museum, Add. MSS., 14,973, f. 47b, a collection of Proverbs by Gruffydd Hiraethog, but written at a much later date, probably between 1640 and 1660. This manuscript has two prefaces by the bard himself, which are not found in the printed book, and as they are short and interesting I quote them in full :—

"At y ddiledriw voneddigaidd Vrutwn pwy bynnag fo.

Och Dduw mor angharedig ag mor anatiriol vydd llawer o genedl gymru ag yn enwedig y rain a elont allan o derfynau i ganedig ddaiaren ai gwlad, pawb val i bo yr achos a ymgais ai arvacth; rai yn alluawl o gyfoeth er gweled a dysku moes ag arver tai a

Oll Synnwyr pen Kembero ygyd/

VV edy r gynnull, ei gynnwys ae gyfanſoddi mewn crynodab ddoſparthus a threfn odidawc drwy ddyual yſtryw.

Gruffyd Hiraethoc prydydd o wynedd Is Conwy.

FACSIMILE-TITLE PAGE OF "OLL SYNNWYR PEN KEMBERO," PUBLISHED BY WILLIAM SALESBURY.

llyssoedd brenhinoedd, dugiaid, ieirll ag arglwiddi, ag er kyfa adnabod bob gradd yn y radd; eraill o dlodi ag eisie ant allan oi kenifinawl wlad ar obaith daioni wrth i fortun val i trefno i tengh edvennoedd. A phob un or rai a dariont nemor oddigartref yn kasau ag yn gollwng dros gof iaith i ganedig wlad a thafodiad i vam gnawdawl, a hyny ellir i adnabod pann brofo yn wladaidd gantho draethu Kamberaec ar lediaith i dafod ag yn furssen er na chwbwl ddyskodd iaith arall, ni chroiw ddowaid iaith i wlad i hun, ar hyn a ddoetto mor llediaith vlœsk lygredig ar ol iaith estronawl. Am y riw vath ddynion i traetha y bumed ddihareb sydd yn dechre ar R. (Rwng y ddwy stol ir æth y——i'r llawr). Ag velly pa angharadigrwudd fwu ar ddyn no gyrru i fam gnawdawl allan oi dy a lletyfu estrones didras yn i lle? Nid kimmaint barn ar y neb a yrrodd adfyd ne dlodi allan oi wlad er abergofi anedigæth ag ir neb sudd urddasawl a chyfoethig yn i wlad, i hwnnw i dele fod yn wladiddrwudd mawr gyfwrdd ag un gydnabod oi gydwlad heb vedru ymddiddan ag ef, fal i biase gynt. Gan hyny disyfu ir wi er mwun Duw ach harddwch ych hunain arferwch a mawrhewch iaith ych gwlad y sawl sudd wyr urddasawl, canys gorau oi jaithodd ydiw. Gryffyth Hiraethogg a scrivennodd y ddau lythyr hynn er ymgeledd ir Iaith Gymraegg:

At y darlleudd.

Ydolwg ag erfyn ddarlleudd boneddigaidd lle gweler y llyfr hwn yn anghwbwl ddyfygiol o reswm, gair, sylltaf ne lythyren i wellhau a mawr ddiolch fydd kenyf am nad wyf yn tybied amgenach noi fod yn fyrr yn riw le ar fy mai i am angof, lleoedd eraill ar fai y llyfrau y tynnais o honunt ar mannau hynu i gedewais i le yn wag iw scrivenu. Er vyned iaith y Cymru mor esceulus mae arwydd ar gadwraeth y llyfre mor anamal y kair dim yn gwbwl yndynt heb ddarn yn eisiau ar peth a golles yn y naill lyfyr a all fod yn y llall i'w gael ag yn enwedig o ran y diharebion. Yr hain a gynillwud fwia drwy waith Mabiaith Hengrys o Ial yr hwnn a alwe rai hefyd Bach Byddigre a Chatw Ddoeth a Gwiddvarch Gyvarwydd, a hen wyr da eraill blith draphlith a hwynt yn ol i doethineb hyd pann vyddent kadwedig wedi hwynt, i roddi dysk ir sawl a synniau arnunt. Canys krynodeb parablau llawer o synhwurau a chyngorau doeth rybudd a ddangossir ar fyrder ir neb ai deallo drwy synied yn y diharebion.

This book, *Oll Synnwyr pen Kembero*, has been strangely overlooked by Welsh bibliographers. Moses Williams does not mention it in his *Cofrestr* (1717), although it appears to have been in his collection, but we may account

for this by supposing that he came across it at a later date, and after his *Cofrestr* was printed. It is, however, mentioned by Ames in 1749, and like the Primer it was then in William Jones's collection. Subsequently it went to Lord Macclesfield's library at Shirburn Castle, where it still remains. I should mention that both of these books are considered to be unique copies.

It is unfortunate that Nicholas Hyll did not place a date on the book, for it makes it difficult to determine the precise year in which it was published. Nicholas Hyll printed books from 1546 to 1553, but many of his books are undated, so that he may have started printing before 1546. We have, however, further data to go upon, for in his preface William Salesbury, in apologising to the Welsh reader for publishing the proverbs, remarks that one John Heywood had made a collection of similar proverbs in English, and that Polydore Vergil, who Salesbury said was still living, had also made a collection of Latin proverbs.

Now Polydore Vergil died in 1555, and the first edition of John Heywood's Proverbs was published in 1546[1]: therefore the preface must have been written between those dates. Further, if we are to conclude that Salesbury is referring to a printed copy of Heywood's proverbs, as the context compels us to assume, then it is highly improbable that Salesbury's book was published in the same year as that of John Heywood, viz., 1546. Taking these facts into consideration there can hardly be a doubt that the first Welsh book ever printed was the Primer of Sir John Prys, the Welsh Attorney.

I shall pass over the two other Welsh books published by Salesbury before the issue of his Testament, as there are copies more or less perfect of both in the British Museum.

[1] Lowndes.

The first is—

> Ban wedy i dynny air yngair alla o hen gyfraith Howel da | vap Cadell brenhin Kymbry | ynghylch chwechant mlynedd aeth heibio, etc.

or in English—

> "A certaine case extracte out of the auncient Law of Hoel da, King of Wales, in the year of our Lorde, nyne hundred and fourtene passed; whereby it maye be gathered that priestes had lawfully maried wyves at that tyme."

This is a small tract of eight pages, and was printed by Roberte Crawley in 1550. A copy of it was sold at the Breese sale for £11 10*s*. There are perfect copies at the British Museum and Shirburn Castle.

The other book published by Salesbury was the translation of the Epistles and Gospels into Welsh. This was printed by Crawley in 1551. There is a perfect copy at Shirburn Castle, a copy wanting a few leaves in the possession of Principal Edwards, of Bala College, and a very imperfect copy, consisting of thirteen pages, at the British Museum.

Salesbury also published the New Testament in Welsh, and the Book of Common Prayer in the year 1567. Possibly he had also a hand in the publication of the Litany in 1564, and the Catechism in 1567, but I have never seen copies of these books. Besides the above-mentioned books, he wrote and published the *English-Welsh Dictionary*, and two editions of the *Briefe and Playne Introduction teachyng how to pronounce the letters in the British tong*, and he was the joint author of the *Egluryn Ffraethineb*, published in 1595. He also wrote a few treatises in English, so his sphere of work was very wide, and he must undoubtedly be looked upon as one of the foremost figures in the history of Welsh Literature.

With Salesbury we come to the end of the first chapter of Welsh literary enterprise as represented by the press.

Another, and perhaps the most interesting chapter in the History of Welsh Bibliography is that which deals with the labours of the Welsh Roman Catholic Priests. Mr. Howel Lloyd, in his most interesting paper read before this Society in June 1880, gave a very full and minute account of several books issued by these patriots. Ioan Pedr (Rev. John Peter) had previously written at considerable length an account of two of them to the *Traethodydd*, so that little remains to be done to complete their work.

At least nine of these books were printed between the years 1567 and 1670, and they were all printed at foreign presses, two at Milan, three at Paris, one at Rouen, two at Liége, and one probably at St. Omer. They are looked upon as the choicest rarities among Welsh books.

The following is a list of them :—

(1) Dosparth Byrr ar y rhan gyntaf i Ramadeg Cymraeg, by Dr. Griff-Roberts. Milan, 1567.
(2) Athravaeth Gristnogavl. Milan, 1567 (re-issued by the Cymmrodorion Society). One copy known.
(3) Y Drych Cristnogavl. Rouen. 1585. Four copies known.
(4) Crynodeb o addysc Cristnogavl. Paris, 1609. Unique copy at Shirburn.
(5) Catechism Petrus Canisius. Paris, 1611. Copy at the British Museum.
(6) Theater du Mond sef iw Gorsedd y byd. Paris, 1615.
(7) Eglurhad Helaethlawn. St. Omer, 1618, by John Salesbury. Copy at the British Museum.
(8) Drych Cydwybod. Liège, 1661.
(9) Allwydd Paradwys. Liège, 1870. Copy at the British Museum.
Second Edition. London, 1776.

Facsimiles of the first two have been published, and the third has been very fully described by Ioan Pedr, so I shall pass them over. The fourth, however, has not been described, and Mr. Howel Lloyd even doubted its existence. However, there is a perfect copy of it at Shirburn.

It is mentioned by Moses Williams in his catalogue, and his description is copied by Rowlands in his *Bibliography*.

The book consists of seventy-two pages, including title page and a preface of four pages by Rosier Smith. On examination it turns out to be, as conjectured by Howel Lloyd, merely the first edition of the first part of another book published by Rosier Smith in 1611.

It does not contain the Latin dedication of the 1611 Catechism, but the Welsh Prefaces in both agree word for word; even the *Rhybudd ir Darlleir*, in which Smith scourges unmercifully his French compositors (who unwittingly published their own faults and shortcomings to the world) is the same.

It is of interest to note that as in the 1611 edition, so in this, he has followed the orthography of his master, Dr. Griffith Roberts, but curiously enough the type, which had to be specially cast, is not the same as that used by Dr. Roberts in his Grammar published in 1567, or as that which Smith himself used two years later in 1611. The type used in 1609 is a shade smaller than that used in 1567, and the 1611 type is smaller still. In 1615, Rosier Smith published *Theater du Mond* or *Gorsedd y Byd*, also printed at Paris, and in this book he reverts to the ordinary type and throws overboard the orthography of Dr. Roberts. It would be interesting to know whether the French printer was the cause of this strange change of front, but it is not unlikely that, like Dr. Owen Pughe's printer, he resented the expense of casting these curious and uncouth letters, and so poor Rosier Smith's notion of orthography, like Dr. Pughe's, had to go to the wall. The only peculiarity in the printing of the *Theater du Mond* is the printing of the "w" by two separate v's.

Mr. Howel Lloyd had not seen a copy of this book, but Rowlands gives a long description of it in his *Bibliography*,

and it was my good fortune some years ago to come across the very copy seen by Rowlands. I have not been able to hear of any other copy, and the one which belonged to Moses Williams does not appear to be in the Shirburn Library at present. The book is a translation from the French of Peter Boaystuan, and is deemed a great curiosity in the original. It certainly loses none of its flavour by being translated into the vigorous Welsh of Rosier Smith.

The next book published was the *Eglurhad Helaethlawn*, a translation from the Italian of Cardinal Bellarmin, made by Father John Salisbury in 1618. There is a copy of this book in the British Museum, and it has been very fully described by Mr. Howel Lloyd, and by Ioan Pedr in the *Traethodydd.*

Of the next work, *Drych Cydwybod*, I have been able to get no information, but according to Moses Williams it was published in 1661.

The ninth book, *Allwydd neu agoriad Paradwys i'r Cymru*, has also been fully described by Mr. Howel Lloyd and Canon Silvan Evans. It appears to be the most common of this series of books. It was "revised and reprinted by D. P. in London, 1776." The author was one Father John Hughes, or John Hugh Owen, a native of Anglesey, who was born in 1615, and died at Holywell, 1686. Considerable information may be found regarding him in Foley's *History of the English Province of Jesuits*, where he is stated to have published several treatises, *On the Grievousness of Mortal Sin, especially of Heresy*, London, 1668; *a Catechism in Welsh*, London, 1668 (which I have not seen), and the Prayer Book called the *Key to Heaven*, i.e., *Allwydd Paradwys.*

But Father Hughes did not stop here, for in 1684 he published the translation made by Hugh Owen (H. O.), of Gwenynog, Anglesea, of the *Imitatio Christi* of Thomas á

Kempis. Rowlands mentions an edition of this book under the year 1679, but this entry appears to be doubtful. Some time ago I purchased a copy, the title page of which agreed with the title page given by Rowlands as that of the 1679 edition, in every particular, but on examination it turned out to have been printed after 1775. There is also no mention of a former edition in the 1684 copy.

This book was for some time most popular amongst the Welsh people. One, and perhaps two editions were published in the seventeenth century, and in the eighteenth as many as twelve editions were brought out.* In this century several new translations have been made, but no reprint of the eighteenth century book.

Considerable attention has been drawn to this book, because of the curious way in which the printers have managed to change and alter the name and place of abode of Hugh Owen, the translator. Hugh Owen lived at a placed called Gwenynog, in the parish of Llanbabo, Anglesey.

The title page of the 1684 book runs as follows :—

> Dilyniad | Christ | a elwir yn gyffredin | Thomas a Kempis | Gwedi ei gyfieithu 'n Gymraec ers | talm o amser yn ol Editiwn | yr Awdur gan | Huw Owen | Gwenynoc ym Mon, Esq. | . . . . Llundain | Gwedi ei imprintio ar gost. I. H. | MDCLXXXIV.

Subsequent editions bear the imprint, "Gwenydog ym Mon Esq. and Gweinydog ym Mon." This fact puzzled the printer, as he thought that Gwenydog or Gweinydog was the same as Gweinidog (a minister), so that he translated it Huw Owen, a minister in Anglesey, Esq. Here another difficulty met him, as the Esq. was out of place after the name of a minister. It is curious to note

* See the Catalogue of the Welsh Collection at Cardiff under "á Kempis,"

the changes which this name underwent in the hands of subsequent printers, until at last it became a standing puzzle, and learned attempts to unravel the mystery were made in many old Welsh periodicals.

The 1684 edition has a long preface of twenty pages signed "J. H., S. J. o gymydogaeth Castell Rhaglan." It has the following dedication:—"At Iawn Ardderchoc Vicounti ac Arglwyddi Baronetti a Marchogion Hybarchus, Boneddigion ac Uchelwyr Parchedic, ac at Holl Drigianolion Mwynion Mon."

In the preface Father Hughes gives a long and eulogistic account of Hugh Owen the translator, from which we gather that he was possessed of a small estate in Anglesey, and that he became steward to Sir Hugh Owen of Bodern, and afterwards to the Marquis of Worcester. He understood French, Spanish, Italian, and Dutch—"medru deall yn llwyr ddigon Ffrengec, Hispanec, Italic, a Dwts ac yntau y pryd hynny'n wr priod ac yn Dad plant." He translated *The Christian Directory* of Robert Parsons, known also as *Llyfr y Resolusion*, into Welsh thirty years before Dr. Davies's edition appeared, and also some of the writings of Vincentius Lirinensis.

Father Hughes, in a note to the Preface, states that three other translations of the *Imitatio Christi* had been made by the Roman Catholic priests, Matthew Turbervil, Thomas Jeffreyes, and Huw Parry, but none had been previously printed. In 1723 a new translation of the same book, said to be made by one W.M., A.B., was issued from a press at Chester. This translation is in far better Welsh than that of Huw Owen, and in connection with this an interesting fact comes to light.

Thomas Durston, of Shrewsbury, is well-known as the chief printer of Welsh books during the first half of the eighteenth century. He is also known as a man of little

principle, who was always trying to cut the markets of his fellow-publishers, and to reprint their works without obtaining their consent. In many of the early eighteenth century books we come across notes by John Rhyderch, Rogers, or Roderick, all the same person, warning the reader as a buyer of books against the wiles of Thomas Durston; and likewise in Durston's we get similar injunctions against having anything to do with Rogers.

Now it appears that Thomas Durston wished to reprint the *Imitatio Christi*, but the translation of Hugh Owen was so wretchedly done that he knew it would not find a sale. On the other hand, the translation made by W. M. was in excellent Welsh, but it had only just been issued from the Chester press, and he feared to reprint it word for word from that edition. What was he to do?

Bearing in mind, perhaps, a previous occasion on which he had coolly appropriated John Rhyderch's introduction to Vicar Pritchard's *Canwyll y Cymry*, and placed it under his own name, he determined to reprint W.M.'s edition and put H. O. (Hugh Owen's) name to it. This he actually did, but he omitted W. M.'s introduction and his translation of the first chapter, introducing in their place the introduction written by Hugh Owen and his translation of the first chapter. He subsequently published at least six editions of the book, but always under H. O.'s name. The credit, therefore, for this excellent translation should be transferred from the shoulders of H. O. to those of W. M., A.B.[1]

Of recent years considerable attention has been paid to the history of the first editions of the Welsh Bible and Testa-

[1] It is difficult to fix the identity of this W. M. He must have been a native of North Wales, as his dialect proves, and there was one William Morgan, Bachelor of Arts, a curate in Anglesea about this time, but whether he was the W. M. of the á Kempis cannot be at present ascertained.

ment, but no real attempt has been made to produce a correct Bibliography of the Bible, and but little has been written on the seventeenth century editions with the exception of that brought out in 1620 by Bishop Parry.

It is a curious comment on the state of our critical literature that several editions of the Bible and Testament which never had an existence in fact, are constantly mentioned, and even described, in articles written by well-known literary students. The best instance is, perhaps, the Bible of 1671, said to have been published by Stephen Hughes and Thomas Gouge. This Bible is referred to in Rowlands, though he does not pretend to have seen the book, and since his time every writer on the subject has taken its existence for granted. However, though 6,000 copies were said to have been printed, not one is to be found in any public or private library that I have searched. This edition is not mentioned by Moses Williams or Dr. Llewelyn, and Stephen Hughes himself, writing in the preface to his editions of *Canwyll y Cymry*, published respectively in 1670 and 1672, never refers to its existence, although the major part of his introduction is taken up with the question of providing Bibles in Welsh for the Welsh people. In fact, from the tenour of Stephen Hughes's remarks, it is clear that he did not publish an edition of the Bible in that year.

Similar remarks might be made about the editions of the New Testament said to have been published in 1643, 1648, and 1650. It is, therefore, clear that our knowledge of the seventeenth century Bibles is not in a very advanced condition.

But to return to the first edition of the small octavo Bible published in 1630. This Bible is said to be rare, but as far as my experience goes, it is far commoner than the next edition published in 1654, and known as *Bibl Cromwell*.

I have in my possession two copies of the 1630 Bible, which differ considerably in spacing and spelling, making it clear that they are not the same editions. Both volumes have the Book of Common Prayer, the Old and New Testaments, the Apocrypha, and the Psalms of Edmund Prys; and the title pages to all these in each case are exactly similar and bear the same date. The only differences between the two editions are found in the first portion of the Old Testament, ending in sheet E, but these differences are considerable.

For instance, the plate at the beginning of Genesis representing Adam and Eve in the Garden of Eden is totally different, the word *llyfr* is spelt *llyfer* in one, *llyfr* in the other; the first page of Genesis ends with the 24th verse in one, with the middle of the 25th verse in the other; the words not existing in the original are placed in ordinary print within square brackets in one, and are printed in italics in the other. All these distinctions are carried on to the end of the fifth sheet of the Bible, from whence both editions agree in all particulars. The question is whether these two Bibles are to be considered as distinct editions or as one and the same.

Vavasor Powel mentions the fact that he had bought up a large number of a former impression of the Bible, and had caused them to be circulated throughout the Principality. He can only refer in this paragraph to the 1630 edition, and it may be that some sheets had to be reprinted by him. On the other hand, these five sheets may represent an earlier attempt at producing a small pocket edition of the Bible, which was given up for some reason or other.

It is well known, and it is stated in the Preface to this Bible, that two citizens of London, Sir Rowland Heylin and Sir Thomas Myddelton, bore the expense of publica-

tion. Mr. Ivor James, in an article in the *Traethodydd* some years ago, attempted to prove that the Rev. Rees Prichard, Vicar of Llandovery, and author of *Canwyll y Cymry*, had the chief hand in bringing this Bible through the press. I do not think Mr. James's arguments in favour of this conclusion are tenable, but in the absence of any positive evidence it is not safe to condemn any theory however far-fetched it may appear.

However, Moses Williams, in his notes *(Addit. MSS.* 14,982) on the editions of the Welsh Bible, says :—"The Welsh preface to it bespeaks the curator of ye press to be a native of Dyffryn Clwyd, at least to have lived a considerable time somewhere in that neighbourhood." Presumably Moses Williams came to this conclusion from the existence of words or phrases peculiar to the Dyffryn Clwyd dialect in the Editor's preface. I am not acquainted with the peculiarities of that dialect, but such words as *diwaethaf*, *fo ddichon*, and *fo ryngodd bodd*, could not have been used by Vicar Prichard, a native of Carmarthenshire. Moreover, we have no evidence that the Vicar himself ever published a book, as the little tract printed by Hodgetts in 1617, which contains one of his songs, bears no trace of his name, and was probably published by order of some church dignitary.

If it is worth while making a conjecture as to the editor of this Bible, one would be disposed to give the credit to Robert Lloyd, Vicar of Chirk, in Denbighshire, who lived for some time in the vale of Clwyd. He was in London in 1629 and 1630, for in 1629 he published a translation of a sermon by Arthur Dent, and in 1630 the book called *Llwybr Hyffordd i'r Nefoedd.* It is also probable, from a remark in the preface to the latter book, that he overlooked the printing of Rowland Vaughan's book, *Yr Ymarfer o Dduwioldeb*, published in the same year.

In 1631 again he was to the front, as he wrote a preface to the book, *Carwr y Cymru*, the avowed object of which was to impress upon the Welsh people the need of buying the Bible.

It cannot therefore be considered a very bold surmise to suggest that Robert Lloyd was the person, or one of the persons, who had charge of the task of bringing out the Welsh Bible of 1630.

Whether this be so or not, Lloyd deserves a niche in the gallery of eminent Welsh writers, for his style is, perhaps, with the exception of that of Elis Wyn, the *Bardd Cswg*, the most vigorous in Welsh literature.

It is a striking fact that these early writers exhibit so correct a taste in style, and at the same time so great a command of the Welsh language. Perhaps they took more time than present writers can afford to correct and improve their phraseology, and certainly when one considers the expense and trouble involved in publishing Welsh books in those early days, one can understand a person taking enormous pains to do his work well. One of the most interesting features in connection with the early Welsh books is that each book represents an enormous outlay both in time and money, for the writer would have to leave his secluded valley for the dust and din of London, there to remain till his book was out of the press. The correction of errors was sometimes left to a third person, and this is the reason why we find so many of these early authors complaining of printer's errors; occasionally taking their revenge on the obstinate printer in the manner of Thomas Jones, of Shrewsbury, in his *Welsh Dictionary* published in 1688, who caused the unsuspecting printer to print these words in Welsh:—

"I am extremely sorry that portions of this book, and of my Almanac for 1688, have been printed so abominably,

for I paid as heavily for the portions badly printed as for those well-printed, and indeed the fault lies not with me, but with the printers, who are without conscience. Did we wait for correctly printed books until the printers procure a conscience, we might be without them for ever. Should I live to give any further work to printers, I shall probably bind them, rather than they cheat me and deceive the country, to take their dirty work for their trouble :—

"Nid oes myn f'einioes-argraphydd
Od dwyn nad ydyw
Drwy ddiogi a meddwi meddaw
Yn cogio 'r byd, goegun baw."

Of subsequent editions of the Bible or Testament the rarest, perhaps, is the New Testament published in 1641, of which I believe there is only one copy in existence.[1] This bears the following title page:—

Testament | Newydd | Ein | Harglwydd | A'n | Hiachawdwr | Jesu Grist | .

Rhuf. 1, xvi | Nid oes arnaf gywilydd o Efengyl Grist | oblegid gallu Duw yw hi er Jechydwriaeth i bob | un a'r sydd yn credu | [Engraving of the English Arms with the mottoes, "Honi soit qui mal y pense," and "Dieu et mon droit"] | Argraphwyd yn y Flwyddyn M.D. CXLI | .

No printer's name or place of publication is given, but it was doubtless printed in London. The fact that it bears the Royal arms would tend to prove that it was not an unauthorised publication, as Rowlands seems to think.[2] It was probably not printed by the authorised printers of Bibles, Robert Barker, or the Assigns of John Bill, and that may account for the fact that there is no printer's name to it. It is a small octavo, measuring four inches by seven, and the pages reach to the sign. Gg. 4, in Mr. Thomas's copy (Revel. xi).

[1] In the possession of Rev. W. Thomas, to whom I am indebted for these notes.

[2] *Welsh Bibliography*, p. 128.

Two other editions of the New Testament were published in 1647 and printed in London by Matthew Symmons, Aldersgate Street.

They agree as to paging and size, having 820 pages and being *12mos*, but there is considerable difference in type, and both are full of mistakes, whole lines being sometimes omitted.

There were two other authenticated editions of the Welsh Testament in the seventeenth century, the one being published in 1654, in large type for the use of old people, and the other published by Stephen Hughes in 1672. The latter edition has also bound with it the Book of Psalms, and the Metrical version of the Psalms by Edmund Prys.

The seventeenth century editions of the Bible are not scarce as Welsh books go, with the exception, perhaps, of that of 1654, and they have been fully and for the most part correctly described by Rowlands, Ashton, and other bibliographers. But the editions of the New Testament are very rare, the British Museum only possessing one out of the five, and the fine Welsh Library at Cardiff not having one. It is very probable that the New Testaments included in the 1654, 1677-8, and 1689-90 editions of the Welsh Bible were sold separately, but from a bibliographical point of view they can hardly be looked upon as separate editions.

Thus, only six editions of the New Testament and seven editions of the whole Bible were published in Welsh down to the year 1700, a fact which only proves once more the ignorant condition of the Welsh peasantry, and the criminal neglect of the gentry and clergy of that period.

Perhaps the need was not so great as we might suppose, as the English language had undoubtedly gained a considerable footing in Wales in the seventeenth century, an advance lost almost as completely at a later date.

I conclude with the hope that one of the numerous Welsh periodicals will see its way clear to start a bibliographical page or pages where all those interested in Welsh books can interchange opinions, and make public any new discoveries. At a not very distant date we might then hope to have a new and complete edition of Rowlands' valuable work.

Finally, I have to thank the Countess of Macclesfield for graciously giving me permission to examine and make notes of the valuable Welsh books in the Shirburn Castle Library.

KYNNIVER

llith a ban or yscry

thur lan ac a darlleir yr Eccleis pryd
Commun/ y Sulieu a'r Gwilieu
trwy'r vswydyn : o Cam-
bereiciat/ W. S.

Tit.ii.

Llewychawdr iachwyawl rat Deo i pawp dyn can en
dyscy y ymwady ac annuwoldab a chwanteu bydol/ a
byw yn sobr ac yn gyf wn ac yn duwiol yn y byd yn
awr/ can dysgwyl an. y wynbydedic obaith allewychi-
at gogoniant y Deo mawr / a'n Jachawdyr Jeshu
Christ / yr hwn ac dodes chunan trosam er en pryny o
ywrth oll enwiredr a charthy ido chunan popl yn priawl
y ymgar a gweithredoedr da.

Rom.i.

Nyd cywilydus geny vi Euangel Christ/ can ys gallu
Deo ydyw hi ar iecheit i pop vn yn credy ynthei.

FACSIMILE TITLE-PAGE, "KYNNIVER LLITH A BAN."

JOHN WILKINSON AND THE OLD BERSHAM IRON WORKS.[1]

By ALFRED NEOBARD PALMER.

Bersham is a large township which stretches westward from the borough of Wrexham, between the rivers Gwenfro and Clywedog, to the mountain township of Minera or Mwnglawdd. It is bounded on the north by Broughton-in-Bromfield and Brymbo, and on the south by Esclusham Above, Esclusham Below, and Erddig—all, but the last-named, townships in the *old* parish of Wrexham. The name "Bersham" was formerly applied to the township only, and not to the village now so-called. The lower part of that village was in earlier times, and even less than one hundred years ago, variously known as "Dol Cuhelyn"[2] (*Cuhelyn's meadow*), and "Dol Cae Heilyn" (*meadow of Heilyn's Field*), and the upper part "Pentre Dybenni",[3] or

[1] Read before the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion, at 20 Hanover Square, on Wednesday, March 9, 1898. Chairman, Mr. Henry Owen, F.S.A.

[2] The lower part of Bersham village is still designated "The Ddol."

[3] Other spellings of this name which I have met with are "Pentre debonney" (1676 & 1770), "Pentre debenni" (1674), "Pentre dybenny" (1676 and 1778), and "Pentre Dyvenni" (1699). The spelling "Pentre 'r dibynau" (*Hamlet of the cliffs*) is modern. Whatever be the true form of the addition, I suspect it represents a personal name. Compare the form "Pentre Dyvenni" with "Llan *devenny*," the name of a hamlet in Netherwent, Monmouthshire.

simply as "The Pentre." It was in this hamlet—about a mile and a half from Wrexham—that the furnace and buildings connected with it stood, which buildings were often called locally "the Pont y Pentre Works" or "the Pentre Works," but inasmuch as the proprietors sold most of their wares in England or abroad, they naturally called the works after the township, rather than after the village, in which they were erected.

It has been repeatedly stated that it was John Wilkinson, or John Wilkinson in conjunction with his brother William, who about the year 1770, first started the Bersham Iron Works. In reality, however, Isaac Wilkinson, the father of John and William, had carried on those works long before. And so far as the Blast Furnace is concerned, this was in existence at Bersham *at least* as early as the year 1724 (see Appendix), and was then worked by Mr. Charles Lloyd, and afterwards by others, and was not taken in hand by Mr. Isaac Wilkinson until about the year 1754.

The question now arises, how came Pentre Dybenni to be selected as a place suitable for the smelting of iron? First of all, Llwyn Enion in Esclusham Above—the place from which the iron-ore was mainly procured—was only a mile and a half distant, and so situate with regard to it, that the ore brought thence would be carried along roads which were slightly down hill all the way. Next, it was always then thought desirable to build a blast-furnace against the face of a low cliff, so that it could be charged from the cliff-top, and the molten metal be run off below at the level of the main road. Now, there were at Pentre Debenni in Bersham many such sites, close to a main road, and near two water mills, with water-rights belonging to them, which mills could be used to work the bellows for supplying the necessary blast. And thirdly, charcoal was

to be had in the neighbourhood. The last point is one that has never yet received the attention of local antiquaries. But there are various entries in the Wrexham parish registers, which go to show that charcoal burning was to a certain extent resorted to within the parish at this time. One of these entries may be quoted, as apparently pointing to the existence of an iron furnace near Bersham,[1] or, at any rate, somewhere within the parish, before the end of the seventeenth century :—

"June 2, 1699, Elizabeth, wife of John Caradoc, wood collier, of Esclusham, who died in a caben by the ffurnesse, Mr. Moore, workemen, buryed."

There are abundant indications in the names of places that a large part of the waste land in the upper part of the townships of Esclusham Above, Bersham, Brymbo, and Minera, were formerly covered with woods, in which charcoal burners, or, as they were here called, "wood colliers," plied their work. The name "Coedpoeth," or *Burnt Wood,* is a striking example of this statement, and although long before the date I am now speaking of, Coedpoeth was already an open common, bared of trees, some tracks of waste woodland, there is reason to believe, were still left in the higher parts of the parish, and charcoal burning was still carried on, though on a continually diminishing scale.

The original Bersham furnace was erected on land belonging to John Roberts, Esq., of Hafod y bwch *Fawr,* and close to one of the two water-mills above-named, which mill belonged also to Mr. Roberts. This mill has since disappeared (it is described as "down" in the year 1780), and its exact site is not now known, but it was certainly

[1] Bersham Furnace stood quite close to the boundary of Esclusham. Of course there may have been an iron furnace in Esclusham itself in 1699, but I have hitherto found no mention of it.

close to the village of Pentre Dybenni, on the bank of the Clywedog, and either immediately above or immediately below the property, a map of which is given opposite. In 1725 the furnace and mill were in the occupation of a Mr. Charles Lloyd, whom I have good reason to suspect to have been of Dolobran, in the parish of Meifod, but who seems to have in no way made a success of them. In 1730, a Mr. John Hawkins (see Appendix) took them in hand, and carried them on until his death in November 1739, and they continued in the occupation of his widow (Mrs. Ann Hawkins) until about 1750.[1] Then a Mr. Harvey (see Appendix) is charged in the parish rate-books for "furnace, mill, and land," and in 1753, Mr. Isaac Wilkinson appears upon the scene. But in 1749 we begin to read of a "Mr. Nathaniel Higgons, of Bersham Furnance." He was probably a manager or clerk for Mrs. Hawkins, and continued to occupy some such office well on into the times of the Wilkinsons. He may, perhaps, have belonged to the family of Higgons, of Llanerchrugog Hall. On May 15, 1749, his son William was baptized at Wrexham Church.

Mr. Isaac Wilkinson was not of so obscure an origin as some have suggested, no common labourer, in short. Mr. James Stockdale, from his connection with the Wilkinsons,[2] must be regarded as a prime authority as to their family history. He tells us, in his *Annales Carmoelenses* (published in 1872), that "according to tradition Isaac Wilkinson . . . . sometime after the beginning of the last century, occupied a small farm either in Cumberland

[1] I find a Mr. Ivy described in 1737 as "of Bersham Furnace," but what he was then doing there I have not been able to ascertain (see Appendix).

[2] This Mr. Jas. Stockdale's paternal aunt became the wife of Wm. Wilkinson, who had estates and houses in the same parish [of Cartmel].

or Westmorland, and had also employment as a workman, or perhaps an overlooker, in one of the numerous hæmatite iron furnaces and forges of that part of the kingdom." On the other hand, Mr. John Randall, in his *John Wilkinson* (published 1876), says emphatically that Isaac was at first a day labourer working for 12*s*. a week, and goes on to quote his very words :—"They raised me to 14*s*.; I did not ask them for it: they went on to 16*s*. and to 18*s*. I never asked them for the advance. They next gave me a guinea a week, and I said to myself, 'If I am worth a guinea a week to you, I am worth more to myself.'" But I would point out how excellent these wages were at that time, and that they reached an amount which shows that he was at least a very skilled workman and not a mere day labourer. It is certain he was shrewd, intelligent, and far from uncultivated, and he gave his sons an excellent education. He sent John to the academy of the Rev. Dr. Caleb Rotheram, of Kendal, where some of the chief Presbyterian ministers of Lancashire in the last half of the eighteenth century received their scholastic training. His son William he afterwards sent to Nantwich, Cheshire, to the school of the Rev. Joseph Priestley, one of the founders of modern chemistry; and an acquaintance was thus struck up which ultimately resulted in Mr. Priestley (afterwards the famous Dr. Priestley) marrying Mr. Isaac Wilkinson's daughter, Mary.

In 1740, according to Mr. Stockdale, Mr. Isaac Wilkinson migrated to the village of Backbarrow in the parish of Coulton in Furness, where he had a good house, and began business in a very small way by the manufacture of flat iron heaters. In this he was assisted by his eldest son John. They had, at first, no furnace of their own, but got their melted metal from a furnace worked at Backbarrow by the Machells and others, bringing it in large ladles

across the road, where they poured it into moulds. But "about 1748, or perhaps a little later, they built or purchased the iron furnace and forge at Wilson House, near Lindal, in the parish of Cartmel, intending to smelt there the rich hæmatite ore of Furness with turbary or peat moss, large tracts of which at that time were on every side nearly of the furnace." Into this turbary he dug a canal, and in order to bring the peat along this canal to the furnace, he made, acting, it is said, on a suggestion of his son John, a small *iron* boat, "the parent", as Mr. Stockdale says, "of all the iron ships that have ever since been built." The many experiments made by the two with the object of smelting iron ore with peat moss proved, however, unsuccessful, and they had to revert to the use of wood charcoal. Nevertheless, they here invented and patented "the common box smoothing iron, even to this day but little altered." (Stockdale.) Soon after, John Wilkinson left his father and got employment, first at Wolverhampton, and then at Bilston, Staffordshire, where, after ten years he "succeeded in obtaining sufficient means to enable him to build the first *blast* furnace ever constructed in Bilston township, which he called "Bradley Furnace," where he ultimately, after many failures, attained complete success in substituting mineral coal for wood charcoal in the smelting and puddling of iron ore. It is probable that in achieving this result he owed more to the Darbys and Reynoldses of Coalbrookdale, and to others, than he ever seems to have acknowledged.

Convinced of the applicability of iron to almost every purpose for which stone, brick, or wood had hitherto been used, and desirous of pleasing Thomas Jackson, one of his foremen at Bradley, he presented the Wesleyans of that place with what was called "a cast iron chapel" and pulpit. Talking with Jackson about the Sunday School connected with the chapel he advised that the children "be

employed in writing and arithmetic", and then, added he, "you will do something to keep the devil off them all their lives. If that don't increase the number of saints it will decrease the number of fools."

"Very good, sir; but who is to pay for pens, ink, and paper the children will spoil long before they can make decent pothooks and hangers; and where's the desks to come from they must have to write on?" "Bah! We can do without pens, ink, and paper, and desks. Give them plenty of iron and a little sand!" "Iron!" exclaimed Tom, stretching his eyes and his mouth as though they could compass the width of his shoulders, and trying all the while to look as though he did not think Mr. Wilkinson was iron mad. "Yes, iron! Look here, you make a pattern for a square box of thin cast-iron without a top, the sides rising only an inch or so, and the whole no longer than a boy can hold on his left hand and fore-arm, or rest on his knees as he sits. Let that box be filled with the fine sand to be found about here, the surface of the sand made even: and then with a skewer of iron, fashioned like a pen if you like, let the boy learn to make his figures and his straight strokes and round O's in the sand. He can't use up that copybook very fast; and the pen will never want mending. You get the patterns ready, Tom, and we will soon have a cast-iron school as well as a cast-iron chapel. Come, I must be off to Wednesbury. Lend me your pony, Tom."[1]

These cast iron copy books and pens were still in use long after John Wilkinson's death, and I believe the old pulpit is still preserved in the Wesleyan Chapel at Bradley which has been erected on the site of its predecessor.

Meanwhile Mr. Isaac Wilkinson heard of the Bersham Iron Furnace, and determined to lease it. Hither, therefore,

[1] My authority for this conversation (which I have copied exactly), is an article by Mr. Alfred C. Pratt, in *The Midland Counties Express*. Mr. Pratt drew on the recollections of old people at Bradley. Mr. Stockdale says that this chapel was at Bilston, which is close to Bradley, and the form of his remarks suggests that the building, though known as "Wilkinson's cast-iron chapel," was not actually built of cast-iron but merely furnished by John Wilkinson with "pulpit, window frames, pillars, and many other things" of cast-iron. The two accounts supplement and correct each other.

he came with his wife, his sons, William and Henry, and at least two daughters, and after a while rented of Squire Yorke the fine old house in Esclusham Below, now pulled down, called "Plas Grono." His eldest son John, although he still kept on his furnace at Bradley, seems to have somehow co-operated with his father's venture at Bersham, for in 1756 he had a house in Wrexham Fechan, and when his first wife, Ann, died 17 Nov. 1756, at the age of 23, leaving him, "inconsolable," she was buried in Wrexham Church, where a tablet to her memory still remains. This lady, according to Mr. Randall, was a Miss Mawdsley, by whom he had a daughter who died young. In 1763, according to the same authority, he married a Miss Lee of Wroxeter. Of the two younger sons of Isaac Wilkinson, Henry was the elder. He was born in 1730, died at Plas Grono, June 26, 1756, and was buried in the Dissenters' Graveyard, Wrexham, where his tombstone may still be seen. One of Isaac Wilkinson's daughters, Mary,[1] married at Wrexham Parish Church, June 23, 1762, the Rev. Joseph Priestley. Another daughter, apparently, married a Mr. Jones, and had a son, Thomas Jones,[2] who afterwards assumed the name "Wilkinson", and lived, it is said, in Manchester.

Mr. Isaac Wilkinson, and his wife, were Presbyterians, doubtless with a tendency towards Unitarianism, and became members of the Presbyterian (now Congregational) Chapel, Chester Street, Wrexham. William Wilkinson, one of the sons, after he returned from France, became also a member of the congregation, and so

[1] Mr. Stockdale strangely calls her name "Sarah," but in the entry of her marriage to Mr. Priestley in the Wrexham parish registers, her name is given as "Mary."

[2] This Thomas Jones calls himself John Wilkinson's nephew, and therefore I suppose his mother was one of John Wilkinson's sisters.

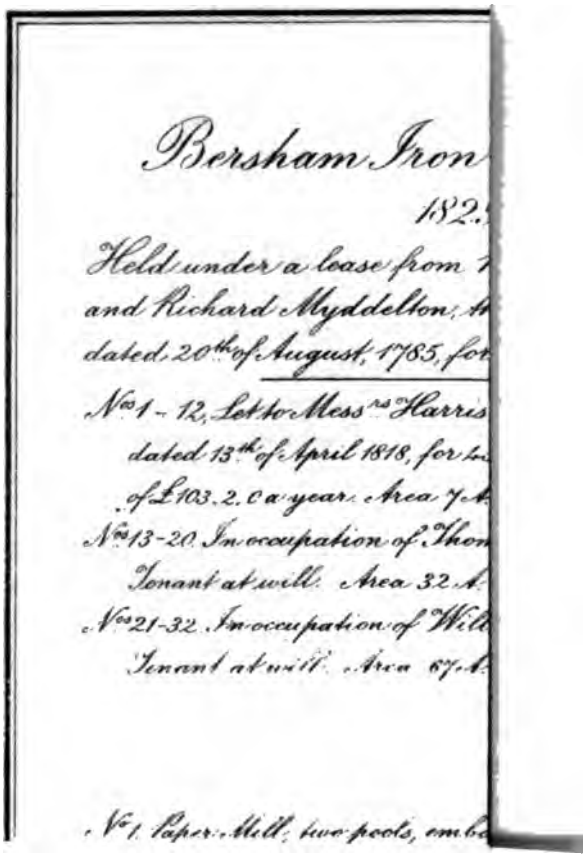
continued until his death. John Wilkinson, on the other hand, went to Church, when he went to any place of worship, but in general stayed away from both Church and Chapel, and showed a disregard for certain accepted maxims of morality, which made the hair of good quiet people stand on end; and not without cause.

The iron-stone, or a large part of it, smelted at Bersham, was, as I have already intimated, obtained from Llwyn Enion, and I have seen a lease for forty years, dated June 9, 1757, to Mr. Isaac Wilkinson, of all the coal and iron-stone to be found under any part of the estate of Cae Glas in Esclusham Above, near Llwyn Enion. The lease was from Mr. John Hughes, who had recently become the owner of the estate, and to whom Mr. Wilkinson was to render "a sixth part of all the coal, kennel and slack, that shall be raised or gotten out of the said premises, and also two shillings a dozen farme [that is, *royalty*] for every dozen strike, or measure, of iron-stone that shall be raised out of the said premises," and a rent of twenty-four shillings an acre yearly. On the other hand, Mr. Wilkinson was to have the liberty of "laying rails or making a railroad to the pits from the main or great road," and also another railroad over Mr. Hughes' lands from the Ponkey. At the Ponkey (Poncau: *the Banks*) was a colliery which, I believe, belonged to Mr. William Higgons, of Llanerch-rugog Hall, and which, at a later date, the Wilkinsons leased.

Mr. Isaac Wilkinson smelted iron at Bersham, but I do not know whether he forged it there also. He made, however, all sorts of cast iron articles—heaters, water-pipes, and the like, and even began to manufacture cannon. In fact, though he himself appears to have failed at the Bersham Works, he pointed out and prepared the way to success. It was about the year 1761 that Mr. Wilkinson

was obliged to bring his operations at Bersham to a close; he then went to Bristol, where he also failed in business, and became ultimately wholly dependent upon his two sons. Of these, John Wilkinson, trading at first under the name of "the New Bersham Company", then took the Bersham Works in hand, and speedily made a great success of them. It is possible that others, besides John Wilkinson, had a share in the new undertaking, but if so they were afterwards bought out, and it is clear that it was John who from the beginning was chiefly interested in the concern. I once saw "the New Bersham Company's" first ledger, which has since been destroyed, and which began to be kept in the year 1762. From this ledger it appears that they made, at that time, box-heaters, calendar rolls, malt-mill rolls, sugar rolls, pipes, shells, grenades, and guns. Under date May 28, 1764 "the Office of Ordnance" is charged with 32 guns, value £238 12*s.* 9*d.*, and there are also many other items relating to charges for guns consigned to ships in the ports of Liverpool and London. The shells mentioned were $4\frac{3}{4}$ inches diameter. Royalties were paid for coal and iron-stone to various persons. To Wm. Higgons, Esq., royalty was paid for coal from Ponkey Colliery at the rate of 1*s.* 4*d.* *a scare*, and there appear to have been reckoned four *piches*[1] to every scare. To Richard Myddelton, Esq., Simon Yorke, Esq., and Miss Esther Jones, a royalty was paid of 8*d.* *a course* for coal, and 2*s.* a dozen *strikes* (= bushels) for iron-stone. It appears from one item that £18 was received as "a year's rent for Ruabon furnace." Under date March 25, 1765, the following entry also occurs:— "William Higgons. Profit and Loss per so much due from him for furnace sold him this day, £6,050." There

[1] The *i* here has the sound of *i* in *wine*, and the *ch* that of *ch* in *church*.



Bersham Iron

182

Held under a lease from
and Richard Myddelton;
dated 20th of August, 1785, for

No 1 - 12, Let to Messrs Harris
dated 13th of April 1818, for
of £103. 2. 0 a year. Area 7.
No^s 13 - 20 In occupation of Thon
Tenant at will. Area 32 A.
No^s 21 - 32 In occupation of Will
Tenant at will. Area 67 A.

No 1 Paper Mill, two pools, em

is no hint given as to the particular part of Ruabon in which this furnace was situate. The ledger shows that in order to obtain control over the water of the Clywedog, the Bersham Company had rented of Mr. Griffith Speed the Felin Buleston (Puleston Mills), and apparently also the Esclus Mills, of Miss Conway Longueville. They also carried on the Abenbury Forge, which was erected in 1726 by Edward Davies (see Appendix); for this forge they paid to Wm. Travers, Esq., of Trefalyn House, in the parish of Gresford, a rent of £52 a year. As I did not notice in the ledger any reference to the use of *charcoal*, I conclude that iron-stone was already smelted at Bersham exclusively by means of *coal*.

I have said that the original blast furnace at Bersham was on land belonging to John Roberts, Esq., of Hafod y bwch. This furnace, with the land pertaining thereto, passed ultimately into the *occupation* of the Wilkinsons, and into the *ownership* of Wm. Lloyd, Esq., of Plas Power. This is certain, and yet it is equally certain that the site of the Bersham Iron Works, as they were known in their later and more prosperous days, belonged to the Myddeltons of Chirk Castle, for on Aug. 20, 1785, Richard Myddelton, Esq., and his son of the same name, leased to John Wilkinson the site of the works and much land adjoining, comprising in all 68 statute acres, for 100 years, at a rent of £100 a year. I append a map of the land so leased with the buildings, houses, etc., as the whole was in the year 1829. Close to the weir, but on the other side of the road, against the cliff face, considerable remains of one of the old blast furnaces may still be seen.[1] The Bersham

[1] This is described in the plan herewith given as a lime-kiln, and it may have been used as such in 1829. But the interior of it is coated with a difficultly fusible iron glaze or slag which points distinctly to the original purpose of the structure.

Mills, belonging to the Myddeltons, and leased to the Bersham Company, appear to have been called "The Cadwgan Mills."

John Wilkinson relied at first wholly on the stream—the Clywedog—which ran by the Bersham Works, for the power which he required to work his blast, and do other needful work. He thereupon set himself to obtain, as far as possible, full control over the stream. *Below* the Bersham Works were, first of all, the Esclus (or Esless) Mills; then, in the order named, Melin Buleston (or Puleston Mills); Melin Coed y Glyn, more commonly called "The French Mills," in what is now Erddig Park, near the junction of the Clywedog and Black Brook; the King's Mills; the Abenbury Forge; and finally, the Llwyn-onn Mills. The Esclus Mills and Abenbury Forge Mr. Wilkinson rented; the Puleston Mills he at first rented, and afterwards bought of Mr. Griffith Speed, or of Mr. Speed's representatives; the French Mills were pulled down by Mr. Yorke with the view of improving his park; the King's Mills and Llwyn-onn Mills Mr. Wilkinson was never able to get hold of. *Above* the Bersham Works were two "pandai," or fulling mills, one on the Bersham, and the other on the Esclusham side of the stream. Then came the Nant Mill, and finally the Minera Mill. The last named Mr. Wilkinson purchased towards the end of the century, and the Esclusham *Pandy* he rented for a time, but over the Bersham *Pandy* and Nant Mills he seems never to have acquired any sort of control.

But Wilkinson was soon to make himself, by help of his friend, James Watt, almost wholly independent of water power. Watt's steam engine was destined to become a practical reality as soon as its inventor could find some one able to bore his cylinders with the required truth and smoothness. John Wilkinson was the first, *it is said*, who

showed himself competent to do this, and the cylinders for many of Watt's steam engines were at first made at Bersham and Broseley.

This was about the year 1775. Then in turn Watt's engines came to be used more and more at Bersham Works, instead of the old water wheels, and for purposes which the old water wheels could in no way have served. I may add that there was in full work six or seven years ago at the Ffrwd Works an old beam pumping engine, made at Bersham in the year 1797. I have among my notes a full description of this engine, but cannot now lay my hands upon it. I may, however, say that I remember seeing on the cylinder, which was 48 inches in diameter, the date 1797, and the name "Bersham," while at each end of the beam, and on each side of it, was in high relief a small crucified figure accompanied by three angels.

The following extract from the second edition of Nicholson's *Cambrian Travellers' Guide* (1813) may be interesting, as giving a contemporary account[1] of the Bersham Works, and of the operations carried on there:—

"Two miles from Wrexham is Bersham iron furnace belonging to Messrs. J. and W. Wilkinson. This concern was first attempted in 1761,[2] but it proved unsuccessful, and it fell to Mr. John Wilkinson to prosecute renewed plans in which he succeeded wonderfully. The mechanism employed is exceedingly ingenious, and his works

[1] I say a "contemporary account," for although it appears for the first time in the 1813 edition, when the brothers were both dead, and long after they had quarrelled with each other, it had evidently been written years before, and was inserted in the Guide without correction. For in the same book a different and up-to-date account is given of the Bersham Works, which are described as having belonged to "the late John Wilkinson, Esq."

[2] That is, "the concern was first attempted in 1761," by the two brothers. Their father, as we have seen, had the works before them, and the furnace was in existence at least as early as 1724.

may be ranked among the first in the kingdom. Besides the smelting furnaces, there are several air-furnaces for re-melting the pig iron, and casting it into cylinders, water pipes, boilers, pots, pans of all sizes, cannon and ball, etc. The cannon are cast solid and bored like a wooden pipe. There are also forges for making the cast-iron malleable, and a newly erected foundry. At a short distance [doubtless at Minera] is a mine of lead ore which is smelted upon the spot. Iron-stone and coal are also plentiful in the neighbourhood" (p. 1349).

The following additional description from the same edition (1813) of the *Guide*, although relating to a later date, may also be here quoted:—

The works of the late John Wilkinson, Esq., "are situated at Pont y Penca,[1] near Ecclusham,[2] consisting of forges, slitting, rolling, and stamping mills, etc., with a large cannon foundry . . . Besides cannon and mortars, these works produce wheels, cogs, bars, pipes, cylinders, rollers, columns, pistons, etc. Sheet iron is made and manufactured into furnace boilers, steam caissons, and various articles which were formerly made of copper. Wire of every description is also here produced" (p. 1163).

I have spoken of the guns made at Bersham. Many, if not most of the cannon used by the British armies during the Peninsular war (as well as those used by *both* armies in the Russian and Turkish wars), were, in fact, made here, and they were fired, in proving them, in a particular spot, and so directed that the balls entered the bank which dips down to the river from "the Smelting-house Field" (see plan), in which bank many have since been found. It was commonly believed at the time that John Wilkinson supplied guns to the French also, and Mr. John Randall, in his account of the great iron-master, makes a statement on the subject, which I will quote in full:—

"From the works at Bersham guns were sent off to the South for the purpose of being smuggled into France, and at Willey [another of John Wilkinson's works] a great number of cast iron

[1] A mistake for Pont y Pentre (see before).

[2] A misprint for Esclusham (see before).

WESTERN PART OF OLD BERSHAM IRON WORKS

pipes, under the name of 'iron piping,' were got up for the purpose of supplying, in reality, the French with good gun metal. These were taken through a woodland country from Willey down Tarbach Dingle, by means of a tramway he constructed, to the banks of the Severn, where all the apparatus for a powder mill had been provided, to be conveyed away from thence for shipping. Shropshire iron, for such purposes as this, had always been in request, and other firms during the war are said to have sent down blocks of iron under pretence of ballast for shipping, which in reality were for purposes mentioned above. They were taken down by barges to the Bristol Channel, and smuggled on board French vessels. Some of these pipes were no doubt *bonâ-fide* transactions, but others, it is said, were not; and Wilkinson's pipe-making was stopped by the Government, and numbers of pipes remained for years at the warehouse at the bottom of Caughley Dingle."

The two sketches of Bersham Works, reproductions of which are herewith appended, were made by Mr. John Westaway Rowe, and are now in the possession of his grand-daughter, Mrs. Robert Parry, of Derwen Lodge, Ruabon Road, Wrexham, who is a daughter of Mr. William Rowe. In the first of the sketches, cannon are lying about in the foreground; behind the boilers is the smith's shop, which is still in existence; on the same side of the river to the far left is the White House, where Mr. William Rowe afterwards lived; on the other side may be noted the octagonal building now used as a barn, and the cottages above the water mill: the blast-furnace, most of which still stands, is too much to the right of the waterfall to come into the picture. In the second sketch, the line of wretched cottages, called "Bunker's Hill," is visible at the top, so that the site of this portion of the works must be that of the disused paper mill which now stands just below the new Bersham Schools.

No sooner had John Wilkinson got the Bersham Works into good going order than he began to establish himself in other places. The iron ore that he smelted at Bersham, and the coal wherewith he smelted it, had to be got out of

other men's lands. This did not satisfy him. So he gradually acquired various estates, rich in iron and in coal, and bought or set up furnaces elsewhere. It may be well to set forth here a list of all the properties of whatever kind which he thus came to possess, giving, however, a detailed description of those only that were situate within the old parish of Wrexham. He acquired, I believe before 1772, the manor and estate of BRADLEY, in the parish of Bilston, Staffordshire, where he had a large iron house, sundry iron-furnaces and rolling mills, brick works, pottery, canal wharf, many dwelling-houses, and much land. He bought of Mr. Emery the estate of HADLEY, in the parish of Wellington, Shropshire, where were furnaces, a colliery, two farms, and several cottages. He leased of Squire Forester the BROSELEY Furnaces, in the parish of Willey, Shropshire, where he had also a colliery. He owned a considerable property also in ROTHERHITHE, where there were five quays, ten warehouses, etc., and he appears to have rented a wharf at Chester. He had mines of coal and iron-stone at MAES Y GRUG, in the township of Soughton, in the parish of Northop, Flintshire, together with a farmhouse there and fifty acres of land; various mines of coal and iron-stone nearly adjoining Maes y grug, and lead smelting works, called "Llyn y Pandy Works," with four furnaces, in the township of Bistre, and parish of Mold. He had also a lease of four lime kilns, capable of producing 25,000 barrels of lime per annum, which belonged to the representatives of a certain Mr. John Lewis, and were situate at Ffrith, as well as of three other lime kilns on Hope Mountain, Flintshire, near the first four.

One of the most curious of his acquisitions was Castlehead, which he converted into the chief place of the Wilson House estate, in the parish of Cartmel, Lan-

EASTERN PART OF OLD BERSHAM IRON WORKS

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cashire, the district which his father had left to come to Bersham. Was this acquisition due to a sentimental reason—that of wishing to live near the scenes of his youth, or did he then intend to begin extensive mining and manufacturing operations in the rich mineral district of Furness? Castlehead itself was an island at low tide, and was so called from an ancient camp which crowned it. Here Mr. Wilkinson built a large house, and laid out gardens and shrubberies, the soil for which had to be brought from the mainland in horsed panniers. Finally, Mr. Wilkinson had many shares in various tin mines in Cornwall.

I now come to speak of Mr. Wilkinson's estates, other than the leasehold estate of Bersham, within the old parish of Wrexham. I have already spoken of his having purchased MELIN BULESTON, or the Puleston Mills, which had before 1620 belonged to the Jeffreys, of Acton, and had afterwards passed into the possession of Mr. Griffith Speed, of Wrexham, from whom, or from whose widow Mr. Wilkinson bought it. It consisted of a mill, dwelling-house, outhouses, mill pools, and 5½ acres of land, ultimately increased to nearly 16 acres through the purchase by Mr. Wilkinson's executors of a portion of the Fawnog Fechan farm. He raised also, I believe in partnership with Mr. Richard Kirk (see *History of Older Nonconformity of Wrexham*, p. 88) enormous quantities of lead ore at CAE MYNYDD, MAES Y FFYNNON WEN, MARRIAN, EISTEDDFOD, and other places within the township of Minera, upon lands leased from James Topping, Esq., the Corporation of Chester, and from others, and spent large sums of money in laying down engines for pumping the water from the various mines sunk there. Hence also he derived most of the limestone which he required for fluxing his ore.

But the largest estate which he acquired within the parish of Wrexham, and indeed, except that of Bradley, which he acquired anywhere, was that of Brymbo Hall. This was purchased *about* the year 1793, of Thos. Assheton Smith, Esq., and Mrs. Jane Wynne, the representatives of the ancient owners of it. What was the size of the estate when he first came into possession of it, I do not know. If we take it to have included the Penrhos Mawr, Mount Sion, and Mount Pleasant farms, it would have amounted to about 500 acres. It was rich in coal and iron stone, and included the fine mansion of Brymbo Hall, which now formed one of the four houses which he occasionally occupied. This estate Mr. Wilkinson considerably enlarged so that it ultimately came to include, not merely the farms already mentioned, but also those after-named: —The Ffrith (28¼ acres); the Lower Glascoed (78 acres); Pentre'r Saeson (137 acres); Ffynnon y Cwrw (38 acres); The Waen (76½ acres); Cefn Bychan (8½ acres); and the Gorse (5½ acres), bringing up the area to something like 872 acres. Of these farms some were purchased, and others, The Waen at any rate, were enclosed from the common. The following account from the Rev. Walter Davies' (*Gwallter Mechain*) *General View of the Agriculture and Domestic Economy of North Wales* (published in 1810) is worth copying:—

"The late John Wilkinson, Esq., had a farm of about 500 acres[1] at Brymbo, near Wrexham. The situation is bleak, and the soil naturally poor, being a hungry clay upon a substratum of yellow rammel or coal schist, which in some places appears in the clay. However, by good tillage, and manuring with lime at the rate of ten tons per acre, it is so far improved that the tithes of corn, within the township, have advanced £10 a year in value, owing exclusively to his improvements. He had brought under cultivation 150 acres of wild heath till then abounding only in springs and furze. A

[1] That is about 500 acres *in hand*, as already explained.

crowned head had assisted him in making his compost manure. Offa King of Mercia, had employed men to bring together the soil; and Mr. Wilkinson went to the expense of lime to be mixed with it. Large cavities, of the shape of inverted cones, were cut at convenient distances in Offa's Dyke, which runs across Brymbo farm. The cavities were filled up with limestone and coal, and then burnt in the same manner as the sod kilns in the vale of Clwyd."

To what base uses are the great monuments of the past often put! I may add that at the Brymbo farm Mr. Wilkinson erected a threshing machine, worked by steam, for he was an advanced agriculturist as well as a great iron-master.

On the Brymbo estate Mr. Wilkinson erected by the side of the Minera and Chester road, the lead smelting-house which is still in existence (although turned to other uses), sank various coal and iron stone pits, and built a couple of blast furnaces, of which one is still standing, and the other was only pulled down in 1892. These were supposed capable of making 4,000 tons of pig-iron in a year. He (or his trustees) made also the famous level, called "Y Level Fawr," which must be nearly two miles long, and which, starting from near Brymbo Hall, opens into the Glascoed Valley. It is a low tunnel, and on the floor are both a channel for draining the mines, and a narrow tramway along which trucks were brought from the workings freighted with coal. The latter was thus delivered at a point quite close to the main road from Minera to Chester. By 1829, 41 pits had been sunk on the Brymbo Hall estate.

It is a marvel that, in the absence of railways and even of good roads, one man should have been able to carry on profitably, at the same time, so many works, at such long distances apart. He could never have done so if he had not had, at each place, capable sub-managers whom he

could inspire with something of his own energy, and whom he could trust to execute his plans. In fact, in nothing more did his genius show itself than in his recognition of character aud capacity, and in his selection of fitting agents and subordinates.

The under-given verses, in praise of John Wilkinson and his achievements, are given in Mr. Randall's book. Mr. Randall rightly says that they were printed by J. Salter, of Oswestry[1]; but the late Mr. Edward Rowland, of Wrexham, a well-known collector of local books, once told me that they were also printed by Anne Tye, of Wrexham (see my *History of Town of Wrexham*, p. 19), in a little collection of songs called *The Woodlark*. I cannot, however, remember whether Mrs. Tye or Mr. Salter printed it first. As to the word "hough" in the 4th verse, Mr. Rowland told me that another reading was "though," but I expect it to be a mistake for "tough." I print the whole from a copy supplied to me by Mr. Rowland, who I understood to say, transcribed it from *The Woodlark* :—

Ye workmen of Bersham and Brymbo draw near,
Sit down, take your pipe, and my song you shall hear:
I sing not of war or the state of the nation;
Such subjects as these produce naught but vexation.
Derry Down, Down, Derry Down.

But before I proceed any more with my lingo,
You shall [all] drink my toast in a bumper of stingo:
Fill up, and without any further parade,
"John Wilkinson," boys, "that supporter of trade."
Derry Down, Down, etc.

May all his endeavours be crowned with success,
And his works, ever growing, posterity bless!
May his comforts increase with the length of his days,
And his fame shine as bright as his furnaces' blaze!
Derry Down, etc.

[1] It will be found on page 189 of Salter's *Grinning Made Easy*.

That the wood of old England would fail did appear,
And hough[1] iron was scarce, because charcoal was dear,
By puddling and stamping he prevented that evil,
So the Swedes and the Russians may go to the devil.
Derry Down, etc.
Our thundering cannon too frequently burst;
A mischief so great he prevented the first;
And now 'tis well known, they never miscarry,
But drive all our foes with a blast to Old Harry.
Derry Down, etc.
Then let each jolly fellow take hold of his glass,
And drink to the health of his friend and his lass,
May he always have plenty of stingo and pence,
And Wilkinson's fame blaze a thousand years hence!
Derry Down, etc.

The writer, whoever he was, of these lines, appears to attribute to John Wilkinson the first successful production of malleable iron by means of coke. Wilkinson may have introduced many and most important improvements into the manufacture of iron. Indeed, it is certain that he did so. But the achievement of first blasting ore, and of refining and puddling his pig iron thus obtained with pit-coal-coke, was the work of others who preceded him.

John Wilkinson issued various halfpenny tokens in copper, as well as tokens in silver. As to the copper tokens the earliest known to me are those issued in 1787,[2] which have on the obverse a likeness of John Wilkinson himself, the name being spelled "Wilkison,"[3] and on the

[1] *Hough* probably a misreading for *tough*.

[2] Similar tokens were issued afterwards (in 1788, 1790, 1792, and 1793), but differed from their prototype in some respects. In those of 1783 and 1790, the names on the edge are "Bersham, Bradley, Willey, Snedshill." In those of 1788 and 1790 the spelling "Wilkison" is corrected, but in 1792 and 1793 it re-appears. What connection John Wilkinson had with Anglesea I do not certainly know, but I suspect he was a shareholder in the Parys Mountain Copper Company.

[3] I have since seen a token of the same year in which this spelling is corrected.

reverse a representation of a tilt hammer, shown as about to descend upon an anvil, whereon a workman holds a mass of iron taken from a furnace; on the edge are the names, "Anglesey, London, or Liverpool." In 1788 tokens were issued having on the reverse a ship in full sail (doubtless referring to Wilkinson's iron boats), on the obverse the same likeness of John Wilkinson, while on the edge are the names, "Bersham, Bradley, Willey, Snedshill." On other tokens issued in 1790 is shown, on the reverse side a male figure, draped, seated, holding in one hand a cogged wheel, and in the other an instrument which looks like a drill, probably the drill used in boring cannon. In the 1791 tokens, issued in 1791, 1792, and 1793, the reverse shows a male figure, nude, seated, striking with a hammer a piece of iron which he holds on an anvil, while the rigging of a ship is shown just below, a most inartistic composition. In the tokens hitherto described the obverse is from the same design, but in those of 1793 a fresh representation of John Wilkinson's head is given on the obverse, while on the reverse the design of 1791 and 1792 is repeated. In the 1791 tokens of this class the name is spelled "Wilkenson," and in those of 1792 and 1793, "Wilkison." The legend on the edge varies every year: 1791, "Bradley, Bersham, Willey, Snedshill"; 1792, "Payable at London or Anglesey"; and 1793, "At Birmingham, Brighton, and Liverpool." Another token, not dated, contains on the obverse the same design as is found on the tokens of 1788, while on the reverse is a crowned harp surrounded by the words "North Wales." Another token has on the reverse a female form, seated, holding a pair of scales, while where the date should be are the words "Mea pecunia."

All the tokens known to me conform, more or less

ILLUSTRATIONS OF VARIOUS TYPES OF JOHN WILKINSON'S TOKENS

UNIV. OF MICH.

closely, to one or other of the six types herewith reproduced.[1]

As to the silver tokens, I have seen one of these, in the possession of J. R. Burton, Esq., of Minera Hall, dated 1788, the design of which is identical in every respect with the copper tokens issued in the same year, containing, that is, on the reverse a ship in full sail. The exchangeable value of this coinage was, according to Mr. John Wilkinson's own statement, 3*s.* 6*d.* It commemorates the large iron boat which Wilkinson launched in July, 1787, at Willey Wharf, the first successor of the *small* iron boat which he had constructed years before at Lindal. Mr. Stockdale says that he has in his collection a silver token of the same design as that just described, but dated 1787, and worth "about two shillings." It seems, therefore, that there were two issues of these tokens. In any case they are now exceedingly rare. Mr. Wilkinson at one time paid his workmen with *leather* tokens, which were duly cashed by the tradespeople of Wrexham.

Mr. Wilkinson and his executors also issued guinea notes, a facsimile of one of which, in the possession of Edward Meredith Jones, Esq., of Wrexham,[2] I here reproduce. The Samuel Smith Adam who signed it (see *History of Parish Church of Wrexham*, p. 114, note 236) was a son of Jas. Adam, Esq., of Runcorn (one of John Wilkinson's trustees), and lived, while his connection with the estate lasted, at Brymbo Hall. Denton Ackerley, whose name also appears on the note, I find described about this time as of "Plas Wen, Broughton," but cannot

[1] These representations, of the actual size of the tokens, are reproduced from photographs kindly made for me by my friend Mr. R. H. Smallwood, of Wrexham.

[2] This note was kindly photographed for me by my friend, Mr. R. H. Smallwood.

guess where the house bearing this impossible name was situate. A Denton Ackerley was afterwards bailiff of the Castlehead estate. The note contains, it will be observed, a representation of Mr. John Wilkinson's coat of arms, shown as a tail-piece to this essay.

In connection with the mention made in the last paragraph of the notes circulated by John Wilkinson, the following letter, which Mr. Randall has also printed, may be given. This letter was written by Whitehall Davies, Esq., of Broughton Hall, in Maelor Saesneg, to the first Lord Kenyon, and is taken from his lordship's *Life* by the Hon. George T. Kenyon.

Broughton, December 19th, 1792.

My Lord—I take the liberty to trouble your Lordship with another letter. in which I have enclosed an *assignat*, made payable at Bersham Furnace, endorsed 'Gilbert Gilpin': I am informed he is the first clerk of Mr. Wilkinson, whose sister married Doctor Priestly. With what view Mr. Wilkinson circulates *assignats* is best known to himself. It appears to me that good consequences cannot arise from their being made current, and that very pernicious effects may. Mr. Wilkinson at his foundry at Bersham (where I am informed he has now a very large number of cannon), and in his coal and lead mines, employs a considerable body of men. They are regularly paid every Saturday with *assignats*. The Presbyterian tradesmen receive them in payment for goods, by which intercourse they have frequent opportunities to corrupt the principles of that description of men by infusing into their minds the pernicious tenets of Paine's *Rights of Man*, upon whose book I am told public lectures are delivered to a considerable number in the neighbourhood of Wrexham, by a methodist. The pernicious effects of them are too evident in that parish, and . . .

I am, with the utmost respect and gratitude,
Your Lordship's most obliged and sincere humble servant,

Peter Whitehall Davies.[1]

[1] I have compared and corrected this transcript with the letter given in the *14th Report (Appendix, Part iv) of the Historical Manuscripts Commission*, and find the following addition: "Note in the handwriting of Chief Justice Kenyon—'This letter occasioned the Act of Parliament passed in January 1793, for preventing the negotiation of French paper in England.'"

No 299 Brymbo Iron Works 16th January 1814

I Promise to pay the Bearer on demand ONE GUINEA for value rec. to the Executors & Trustees of the late John Wilkinson Esq.

One Guinea No 299 Saml. Smith Adam

UNIV. OF MICH.

Mr. Davies' notion of the Presbyterian tradesmen corrupting the principles of such men as the "workmen of Bersham and Brymbo" then were, and of lectures being delivered on (and, as is suggested, in advocacy of) Paine's *Rights of Man* by a *Methodist* of 1792 is indescribably grotesque and delicious.

A few years afterwards (in 1799) John Wilkinson was made high sheriff of Denbighshire. The Town Council of Wolverhampton possesses a portrait of him which has been reproduced in Mr. Randall's book. Mr. Edward Jones, of Wellington, formerly of Brymbo, has another portrait of the great ironmaster.

The erection of the works at Brymbo, and the purchase of the estate there, were probably due to the discontinuance of the Bersham Works, and I had better explain the cause of this discontinuance in Mr. Stockdale's own words:—

"For some time before the end of last century, John Wilkinson had taken his brother [William] into partnership in all his iron works, but from the very first it was unlikely that two such clever, determined, and most intractable men should long continue friends; accordingly, in a very few years, a quarrel past all reconciliation took place, and then a tooth and nail combat ensued, in its results almost ludicrous. Wm. Wilkinson . . . collected . . . a great number of men in the town of Wrexham in Wales, and marched with them to the large iron works at Bersham, and there, with sledge hammer and other instruments, began to break up the expensive machinery. On intelligence of this reaching John Wilkinson, he collected a still greater number of men, and followed exactly his brother's example, so that in a very short time the famous Bersham Iron Works became a great wreck, each brother appropriating to himself as much of the spoil as came within his reach. Perhaps these two wise brothers thought this the most politic way of dissolving partnership, and dividing the effects, each knowing right well the other's mule-like stubbornness, and that a chancery suit, under the circumstances, might have made a complete wreck of the property."

I do not doubt, from what I can learn, that the foregoing account is *substantially* correct, but I suspect that John

Wilkinson had admitted his brother into partnership in the Bersham Works only, and that the motive for William's attack upon those Works was due to John's erection of new Works at Brymbo, and to his refusal to allow William to become a partner in the new enterprise there. Mr. Stockdale's account does not explain the fact that no similar attack was made on the other works of John Wilkinson, nor the other fact that the latter was allowed to remain in undisturbed possession of all his other property, and even of the land and undestroyed buildings at Bersham. For many of the workshops at the last-named place were spared, and remain to this day, and were actually used as iron-works long after William Wilkinson's attack upon them and after John Wilkinson's death. But that many buildings were pulled down and the machinery destroyed seems certain.

Before I carry on my account of *John* Wilkinson, it may be well to say all that remains to be said of his brother William. He was living in 1797, and for some time before and after, at The Court, Wrexham, which house his brother John had just left, but a little later removed to Plas Grono, where his father had lived before him. He had previously spent much of his time in France, and was engaged in various undertakings there connected with his own trade. Perhaps it is of one of these undertakings that Arthur Young speaks, in 1794, in the following extract from his *Travels in France*:

"Mont Cenis.—It is the seat of one of 'Mons. Weelkinsong's' establishments for casting and boring cannon. I have already described one near Nantes. The French say that this Englishman is brother-in-law of Dr. Priestley, and that he taught them to bore cannon in order to give liberty to America."

Mr. Stockdale, in his *Annales Carmoclenses*, gives an amusing account of the stir William Wilkinson caused in

the parish of Cartmel by indicting many of the public highways here.

William Wilkinson was a shareholder in the Paris Water Works Company, which was constituted for supplying the whole of the city of Paris with water. This company gave to John Wilkinson the contract for the forty miles of water pipes which it required, and at Creuzot, John Wilkinson set up the first steam engine which had ever been seen in France. For his share in these water works, Mr. Stockdale says, William Wilkinson ultimately received £10,000.

"Nimrod" (Mr. Charles James Apperley) whose father lived at Plas Grono, while William Wilkinson was still living at the Court, says in his *Life and Times* that the latter was "one of those no-god no-devil sort of men which prevailed to a certain extent even in England at that period." William Wilkinson was, it is likely enough, an emphatic Radical and Unitarian, but he certainly was not an Atheist; he was a member of the Presbyterian Congregation, meeting at the Chester Street Chapel, and there his two infant daughters were baptized. "Nimrod" goes on to say that "setting aside his ultra-Radical principles, more rare in those days than in the present, there was nothing against the moral conduct of the ironmaster, who, by the way, was a most entertaining companion, and quite a man of the world, in the true acceptation of the term, for he visited all countries, and he was occasionally a guest at Plasgronow, as well as at Erthig,[1] my father overlooking his political principles for the benefit of his society, and the general fund of information he possessed." At last, however, "he was suspected of supplying the French nation with cannon, as also of affording

[1] Erddig, the seat of Philip Yorke, Esq., the well-known author of *The Royal Tribes of Wales.*

them other assistance, to the detriment of his own country. The only effect this charge against the iron-master had upon Mr. Yorke was to induce him to change the familiar term by which it was his habit to address him of 'Neighbour Will' into 'Wicked Will,' and he continued to be a guest at the Erthig dinner table."

Mr. William Wilkinson married a daughter of James Stockdale, of Carke, Lancashire, and had at least two children, daughters, Mary Anne, born Nov. 27, 1795, and Elizabeth Stockdale, born June 17, 1799. Mr. Wilkinson himself died in 1808, and was buried in the Dissenters' Grave Yard, Wrexham, where no monument of him can now be found.[1] An old friend of mine, who remembers the sale at Plas Grono, tells me that his father bought there some of William Wilkinson's books, and says that on the bookplate was, to use his own words, "a chevron between three shells."

John Wilkinson had some capital assistants. Almost from the first year that the two brothers took the Bersham Works, they had in their employment there a clerk named Benjamin Gilpin. Gilbert Gilpin, the eldest son of this last, who was born Feb. 8, 1766, and was baptized at Wrexham Church on March 8 following, turned out, when he grew up, a very clever young man, and passed into John's employment. But he soon left him, and after various adventures, settled down at Coalport, near Shifnal, Shropshire, where he began to manufacture pit-chains for hawling, of a type so superior to any that had been made before, that the Society of Arts in 1805 presented him with a silver-mounted purse containing thirty guineas (Randall). He ultimately settled at Dawley, Shropshire,

[1] "William Wilkinson, Esq., of Plasgronow, was buried March 5, 1808, in the Dissenters' Burying Ground." Extract from Register of Presbyterian Chapel, Chester Street, Wrexham.

where he issued, 'tis said, half-penny and shilling tokens. He died Oct. 18, 1827, and was buried in Wrexham churchyard, where his tomb and that of his father may still be seen.[1] Gilbert Gilpin's sister, Elizabeth, married Mr. John Williams, draper, of Church Street, Wrexham, and became the mother of the first wife of the late Mr. T. C. Jones, J.P., of Wrexham, who succeeded his father-in-law in his business.

John Wilkinson brought with him from Bradley a young man, William Rowe by name, son of the John Westaway Rowe, already mentioned, whom he utilized for many years as engineer and surveyor at Bersham and Brymbo. After Mr. Wilkinson's death, his executors continued to employ him, and he lived at the White House, Bersham. He married, Jan. 21, 1831, Margaret Elizabeth Jones, daughter of Mr. Thomas Jones, gunsmith, of Town Hill, Wrexham, and sister of Thomas Cambria Jones, the poet, he being then 42 years old, and she 20 years younger. He subsequently lived at Mount Street House, Wrexham (now the offices of Messrs. F. W. Soames & Co.), and died Feb. 3, 1860, aged 71.

Another of John Wilkinson's agents was Mr. Hugh Meredith, of Plas Gwyn, Minera. A letter addressed to him by the iron-master, now in the possession of Mr. R. Parry, of Westcot, Hoole Road, Chester, is, I think, worthy of being printed.

Bradley Iron Works, nr. Wolverhampton, 4 Oct., 1799.

"Sir,—Mr. T. Jones has mentioned to me your declining, on Account of your Health, to take the charge of my Smelting Works

[1] For a further account of Gilbert Gilpin, Mr. Randall's book on John Wilkinson may be consulted. Mrs. T. C. Jones, of Leeswood House, Wrexham, possesses a good portrait of him in oil, and also a medal presented to Gilpin by some London Society for the promotion of Arts and Commerce, "for a beam for raising weights."

at Brymbo, which I should have been glad you had done, if it had been agreeable to yourself, as it is my wish that you should not in any degree be in a worse situation from any changes that take place.

"It is my Intention to build one or two additional Furnaces to my present works, which, when done, I must purchase the different ores which you used to have to Coedpoeth, and as you are acquainted with that Branch of the Business, shall be glad if you will take upon you the buying for me, I making an allowance to you for it.

"From your recommendation I will get you to make an Agreement with John Bond to attend my Smelting Works and the Ore Weighings—the Wages or Salary I leave to you to fix with him—I could also wish you to engage the two Smelters, if possible, which Wm. Jones mentioned as being good workmen.

"I find from T. Jones that an Account of the Coals wanted for the furnace at Brymbo, and the large quantity which must be raised to select a sufficiency from for the Furnace supply, that they now begin to stock the Coal, notwithstanding the Season for Sale has been lately at its height, and as my stock must necessarily very much increase, unless some means are found to force a Sale—I am under the necessity of giving directions to lower the price to the Country from six to Five shillings the Pit Ton—and as this may in some degree affect the Sale at Coedpoeth, I will be obliged to you to mention the Circumstance and the reason to Mr. Moore, who is now, I understand, in the Country—that he may not suppose I have any views inimical to Lord Grosvenor's Interest, or that of the Coal Masters in the Neighbourhood, which he cannot attribute to me when he is acquainted with my Situation.

"I mentioned this to him some time ago as a thing that was certain to take place at a future Day—and as that time is arrived that I have no alternative, for at one pit only I shall rise 200 Tons weekly. I wish him again to be informed of it.

"You are not unacquainted that Whitley has got to his Coal in the Neighbourhood of Mold, which will take part of the sale from the Vale of Clwydd—and is an additional reason for my endeavouring to keep what Sale I can to the Brymbo Pits.

"I am, Sir,

"Your very obedient servant,

(Signed) "JOHN WILKINSON.

"P.S.—T. J. will wait on you when he returns, which will not be long."

There is something about this letter which I like. Wilkinson's honesty and frankness, the friendliness with which he treated his assistants, the trust he reposed in them, are revealed in it. The letter shows also how completely the iron-master kept in touch with all the details of his many and vast operations.

One of the workmen at Bersham furnace was John Waithman, a joiner. He married at Wrexham, Jan. 29, 1761, one Mary Roberts, and died July 1764. It is almost as certain as can be that these were the parents of the celebrated Radical, Alderman Robert Waithman, of Fleet Street, London, whose memory one of the two obelisks at Faringdon Circus commemorates. The widow Waithman married Sept. 9, 1776, Thomas Mires, a furnace-man, a marriage which perhaps led young Robert to leave home, and go first to Reading and afterwards to London.

Spite of Mr. John Wilkinson's obstinacy and the violence of his temper, he was an exceedingly generous man. He was accustomed to pension off, in their old age, those who had served him well. Very generous he was also to other people. This, for example, is what his brother-in-law, Dr. Priestley, says of him:—"The favours that I received from my two brothers-in-law deserve my most grateful acknowledgments. They acted the part of kind and generous relatives, especially at the time when I most wanted assistance. It was in consequence of Mr. John Wilkinson's proposal, who wished to have us nearer to him, that being undetermined where to settle, I fixed on Birmingham, where he soon provided a house for me." We learn also from Rutt's *Life and Correspondence of Dr. Joseph Priestley* (Vol. ii, p. 121) that after the Doctor's house was wrecked by the "Church and King" rioters, and his furniture, books, papers, and scientific apparatus destroyed, John Wilkinson sent him £500, and transferred

to his name £10,000, which he had deposited in the French funds, allowing him, till that investment should be productive, £200 a year.

But although Mr. Wilkinson had many virtues, he was not, as already has been hinted, without his vices also. And in particular, it must now be said, that when he was himself an old man and his second wife still alive, he became acquainted with a certain Ann Lewis (a servant, I have heard, at one of his houses), and had by her three children, namely, Mary Ann, born July 27, 1802; Johnina, born August 6, 1805; and John, the youngest, the date of whose birth I do not know, but who was born when his father was more than 77 years old. John Wilkinson's second wife having died, a warrant was obtained, under "the king's royal sign manual," to enable these three children, as well as their mother, to bear the name of Wilkinson. Of their subsequent history something will hereafter be said.

Mr. John Wilkinson died in his house at Hadley, July 14, 1808, at the age of 80, and was buried, according to his desire, in his garden at Castlehead. He had wished to be buried in an iron coffin, and one had been prepared, but was found to be too small to hold the leaden and wooden shells in which the body had been brought from Hadley. How the body had to be re-buried when the larger coffin had been at last made; how it had to be again disinterred because the rock in the spot where the grave had been dug came so near the surface that the coffin was scarcely covered with soil; and how, finally, in 1828, when the estate was about to be sold, the body was again disinterred, and buried beneath the Castlehead pew in Lindal Chapel—all this has already been many times told. John Wilkinson had had his daughter in like manner buried in his garden at Bradley, and her body was, Mr. Randall tells

us, four times removed before it was allowed to rest in peace (*Ann. Carm.*, pp. 220 & 221).

Mr. Randall has given us the epitaph which Mr. Wilkinson had himself prepared to be placed upon his monument:—

"Delivered from Persecution of Malice and Envy Here Rests John Wilkinson, Iron Master, In certain hope of a better estate and Heavenly Mansion, as promulgated by Jesus Christ in whose Gospel he was a firm believer. His Life was spent in action for the benefit of man, and he trusts in some degree to the glory of God [as his different works that remain in various parts of the kingdom are testimonies of increasing labour, until death released him the day of 18 , at the advanced age of]."[1]

Mr. Wilkinson's executors were not satisfied with the above-named inscription, and substituted for it the following, which was duly placed upon the coffin.

"John Wilkinson, ironmaster, who died 14th July, 1808, aged 80 years. His different works in various parts of the kingdom are lasting testimony of his unceasing labours. His life was spent in action for the benefit of man, and, as he presumed humbly to hope, to the glory of God."

Over the grave in Castlehead garden was raised, according to the dead man's desire, a huge pyramid of iron, for a memorial, which was cleared away when the body was removed, in 1828, to Lindal Chapel.

I must now say something of John Wilkinson's illegitimate children, who were authorized, it will be remembered, to assume their father's name. Of these, the eldest, Mary Ann, married (May 24, 1821) at Cartmel Church, William Legh, gent., of Hordley, Hants, second illegitimate son of Thomas Peter Legh, Esq., of Lyme Hall, Cheshire, by whom she became mother of the first Lord Newton, of

[1] This epitaph differs somewhat from that given by Mr. Stockdale, who omits the portion I have placed in square brackets

Lyme,[1] who as William John Legh, Esq., was for many years Member of Parliament, successively, for South Lancashire and East Cheshire. Mr. and Mrs. William Legh lived for some time at Brymbo Hall, and two of their children (Blanche Calvert, baptized Dec. 12, 1832, and William FitzJames, baptized Feb. 25, 1834) were baptized at Wrexham Church. Mrs. William Legh died at Bebington, October 13, 1838. Johnina, the second daughter of Mr. John Wilkinson, married Alexander Murray, Esq., of Polmaise, Stirlingshire, who died June 5, 1835, aged 32, at Brymbo Hall, and was buried at Wrexham. John Wilkinson, the only son, was educated at Christ's College, Cambridge, and, in 1808, £700 were paid to him to purchase a commission in the army, and to pay sundry debts. Two years later, he was arrested for debt in London, and detained at the offices of the under sheriff. He subsequently went to America and never returned. There he married, and a few years ago his son visited Brymbo to see the old Hall and Works, and to chat with some of the old people who remembered his father.[2] The mother of these three children, Ann Lewis, otherwise Wilkinson, married in 1824 one Thomas Milson, and she appears afterwards to have been constantly involved in pecuniary difficulties.

It is time now to explain the provisions of Mr. John Wilkinson's will (dated November 29, 1806) and of its codicils, treating them as all one. The testator devised his mansion at Castlehead and an annuity to his wife (who

[1] Lord Newton was the fourth of eight children of Wm. and Mary Anne Legh, and succeeded his uncle (Thos. Legh, Esq.), at Lyme, in 1857.

[2] I am assured that the Miss Janet Wilkinson, of Brymbo Hall, who in 1840 published "Sketches and Legends among the Mountains of North Wales," was in no way related to the great ironmaster.

soon afterwards died) with the provision that after her decease, the said mansion, with the furniture, etc., there should be enjoyed by Ann Lewis for the term of her life, if she should remain so long unmarried. He left all the rest of his property in land, securities, ready money, stock, debts, etc., to Ann Lewis; James Adam, Esq., of Runcorn; William Vaughan, Esq., of the city of London; William Smith, Esq., of Birmingham; and Samuel Fereday, Esq., of Ettingshall Park, in the parish of Sedgeley, Staffordshire, *in trust* for 21 years, to carry on his works at Bradley, and Brymbo, and elsewhere, and at the end of 21 years "to the children which he might have by the aforesaid Ann Lewis, and living at his decease, or born within six months after, equally to be divided between such children and their heirs, share and share alike," and if there were no such children, to his nephew, Thomas Jones, and to his heirs, provided he or they took the name of Wilkinson. He left also an annuity of £200 to Ann Lewis, while she remained unmarried, and annuities not exceeding £200 during the term of the trust to each of his children by her.

Mr. Fereday, one of the trustees named in Mr. Wilkinson's will, soon after the testator's death relinquished his trust, and I believe Mr. Smith and Mr. Vaughan, two of the other trustees, died not very long after, so that Mr Adam and Mrs. Wilkinson were alone left to fulfil the duties of the rest.

The trustees never attempted, so far as I can make out, to carry on, after Mr. Wilkinson's death, the undestroyed portion of Bersham Works. The latter were let, until about the year 1815, to Messrs. Thomas Jones and Company, Mr. Jones being the only son of William Jones, Esq., of Llanerchrugog Hall. Then, Messrs. Ayton [or Aydon] and Alwall are mentioned in connection with the Works, and again in 1819, Messrs. Poole & Company. After this latter

date, a portion being let as a smithy to Edward Mullard, the rest was left to fall into decay. The Brymbo, Hadley, and other Works were carried on by the executors for a while, though afterwards, in the general confusion produced by the prolonged legal proceedings, of which I shall presently have to speak, it was thought better to let them. Thus, in 1828, the Brymbo Works were let to Messrs. John and James Thompson at a rent of nearly £1500 a year.

The value of Mr. Wilkinson's estates and other property when he died was immense. Even in 1824, when things were falling into confusion, the Brymbo estate yielded, with the rent of the ironworks, £2829 1s. 6d. yearly; the Bersham estate, without the works, but with the rent of the Felen Buleston property, £577 10s.; the Llyn y pandy property yielded £120 13s. yearly; the Maes y grug property £44; the Bradley estate £3953 4s.; the Hadley estate £1585 9s. 4d.; and the Castlehead estate £648 18s. 10d., in all £9758 16s. 8d. of *gross* annual receipts. These rents afford but little index to the value of the property when Mr. Wilkinson died. In 1824 the master directing mind was long gone. Some of the managers were demoralized by the manifest ruin which impended over the estate; others looked only after their own interests; a few were loyal. But the demands of the lawyers swallowed up all profits, and remained still unsatisfied. Mr. James Adam received, in 1815, after the peace with France, an enormous sum of money, representing Mr. John Wilkinson's share in the Paris Waterworks. But all went in the same way. Mr. Adam died July 1823, and in 1824 Thomas Turner, Esq., was appointed receiver, and upon his death, in 1826, James Kyrke, Esq., of Ffrith Lodge, became receiver in his stead. Ultimately, nothing was left to be received.

Before, however, I enter into the details of the final break-up of this fine property, it will be necessary to set forth specifically the cause of that break-up. Mr. Thomas Jones Wilkinson, John Wilkinson's nephew and residuary legatee, relying upon the illegitimacy of his uncle's children, and upon the fact that they were not mentioned by name in his will, laid claim to the whole property. The case dragged on for seven years and was taken from court to court until it came before the Lord Chancellor. Up to this point the decision was in every case given in favour of the plaintiff. But Lord Eldon, who was Lord Chancellor, is said to have sent for the plaintiff before he gave judgment, and asked him what provision he intended to make, in the event of a decision being given in his favour, for the defendants—his uncle's children. On his replying that he intended to make no provision, Lord Eldon's mind was made up. At all events, he gave judgment for the defendants. Mr. Jones Wilkinson then filed a bill in Chancery to restrain Mr. James Adam from further interfering in the management of the estate, but this demand also, after a long hearing was refused. Mr. Thomas Jones Wilkinson became bankrupt, as also did Mr. Samuel Fereday (one of the trustees named in Mr. John Wilkinson's will) who had backed him up, and other persons who had lent him money lost it.

The Wilkinson estate also became hopelessly involved, and by a decree of Chancery in 1828, the greater part was ordered to be sold in order to meet the claims upon it. It could only be disposed of piecemeal. The Rotherhithe property was sold in 1829, by private treaty, for £3400. By public auction, held at the Wynnstay Arms, Wrexham, in April of the same year, the Ffrith farm in Brymbo was knocked down for £2500 to Serjeant David Francis Jones, afterwards Serjeant Atcherley, who wanted it to enlarge

the Cymmau Hall estate. Mr. James Kyrke and others bought other farms added by Mr. Wilkinson to the Brymbo Hall estate, which was now brought down again to what I take to have been its original limits of about 500 acres, so as to include only the Hall itself, the demesne farm, and the farms called Mount Sion, Mount Pleasant, and Pen Rhos Ucha. The leasehold property at Bersham containing the Bersham Works, was sold to Thomas Fitzhugh, Esq., of Plas Power.

And so this strange but true history shows us that whatever John Wilkinson did which was fitted to help and improve his fellow creatures remained, but that what he did unrighteously, and for merely selfish ends, had in it no root of permanence.

This paper is not intended to be exhaustive of its subject, but only to supplement, by the results of my own researches, Randall's *Life of John Wilkinson*, and Stockdale's *Annales Carmoelenses*, to both of which books I have been greatly indebted for the knowledge of various facts necessary to weave my notes into a connected narrative.

APPENDIX.

Just as I was about to send the foregoing paper to the printers, I received from Mr. Wm. Gregory Norris, of Coalbrookdale, a mass of extracts from old letters and from the diaries of John Kelsall (clerk to Mr. Charles Lloyd, of Dolobran), throwing a flood of light on the early history of Bersham Furnace. These details confirm all the statements made in the first part of my paper. But they also supplement my own account, and give precise and full particulars, where the materials to which I had access were only sufficient to afford a general sketch. At this juncture,

when the printers are clamouring for "copy," I do not propose to re-write the first few pages of the manuscript, and yet I cannot let the latter go without adding a short appendix, expressing at the same time my hope that Mr. Norris will publish in full the important facts of which he has cognizance.

In the first place, my conviction that the Mr. Charles Lloyd, who had a lease of Bersham Furnace in 1724, was Mr. Lloyd[1] of Dolobran, the well-known Quaker, is shown to be well-founded, but Mr. Norris is able to carry the existence of the Furnace, and its rental by Mr. Lloyd from John Roberts, Esq., four years further back—to 1720, namely. And here I may re-iterate my belief, not yet confirmed, that the Furnace was built even earlier than that date.

Mr. Lloyd carried on a Forge (rebuilt in 1719) at Dolobran itself as well as at Bersham, and was possibly interested in the Forge at Llansantffraid near Aberystwyth. He had business connections with Abraham Darby of Coalbrookdale and with many other of the old Shropshire and Worcester iron-masters. Mr. Darby had commenced a Furnace at Dolgûn, near Dolgelley, which was afterwards worked for some years "by acquaintances of the Lloyds, resident near Dudley."

In 1720, Daniel Brown was "founder" at Bersham, and Edward Davies, "clerk," and in the year following the use of charcoal was discontinued there for smelting and coal employed instead, the fuel being obtained from pits at The Rhos (Rhosllanerchrugog) belonging to Thomas Meredith, Esq., of Pentrebychan.

About 1726, Mr. Lloyd began to be involved in financial

[1] Charles Lloyd, the son of Charles Lloyd, the first of that name, of Dolobran, who joined the "Friends" in 1662 (see Richard Davies' *Autobiography*).

troubles, and Edward Davies, his Bersham clerk, thereupon erected a forge in Abenbury Fechan, near the King's Mill, Wrexham.[1] Thomas Astley was the new clerk at Bersham, and in the year that followed Mr. Lloyd was obliged to make a composition with his creditors, his share in the Works being disposed of to Mr. John Hawkins. This Mr. Hawkins was a son-in-law of Abraham Darby, but not himself a Quaker, for I find that a child of his was baptized at Wrexham Church.[2] He himself had his pecuniary difficulties to contend with, but apparently surmounted them, evidently through the assistance of his brother-in-law, Mr. Richard Ford, of Coalbrookdale, and in 1733 was turning out nearly five tons of "pigs" a week! After his death, in 1739, the business was, as I have already said, carried on by his widow, helped, I now learn, by her son, John Hawkins, junior.

The "Mr. Ivy" mentioned in the footnote to page 4, was probably Daniel Ivy, or Ivie, who in 1732 was working Ruabon Furnace, but was afterwards (by the year 1735) compelled to relinquish it, being unable to produce more than three tons a week of iron, and "that as white as silver," so that he "can scarce get it out of the hearth."

The successful smelting of iron-stone with coke, and afterwards with uncoked coal, was only achieved after

[1] Edward Davies became insolvent in 1837, but his forge continued to be worked by himself and others, and ultimately came under the control of the Wilkinsons, as already related (see p. 10).

[2] I may as well copy here, out of the Wrexham Parish Registers, all the entries referring to Mr. Hawkins:—

Aug. 15, 1733—Abraham, son of Mr. John Hawkins, of Bersham, born ye 26th; bap. ye 15th.

Dec. 3, 1736—Abraham, son of Mr. Hawkins, of Bersham, buried.

January 4th, 1738-9—Susan, child of Mr. Hawkins, of Bersham Furnace, buried.

Nov. 14, 1739—Mr. Hawkins, of Bersham Furnace, buried.

Nov. 28, 1739—Sarah, dau. of Mr. Hawkins, of ye Furnace, born 24 [? bapt. or buried].

innumerable failures, and after many a man who attempted it had lost his entire fortune. Others have schemed and laboured, and we are entered into their labours.

It will have been observed that all those who worked Bersham Furnace, before the time of the Wilkinsons, were either members of the Society of Friends, or in some way connected with that Society. I may add that the Mr. [Benjamin] Harvey mentioned on page 4, was also a "born Friend," being the son of Mr. Benjamin Harvey, the elder,[1] and related to the Darby family, and his mother, a daughter of Joshua Gee, of London, and afterwards of Tern, Shropshire, and of Frizzinton, Cumberland.[2] He and his associates seem to have acquired the lease of Bersham Furnace from Mrs. Hawkins and her son. His uncle, Thomas Serjeant Harvey, was in 1726 working a colliery at Gardden, between Wrexham and Ruabon. This Benjamin Harvey, the younger, lived, not at Bersham, but in Wrexham Regis, and on July 10, 1753, being then 23 years of age, renounced Quakerism, and was baptized at Wrexham Church, where also his child, William (born Feb. 5th) was baptized, March 7, 1755. Under what circumstances the interests of the Harveys in Bersham Works ceased cannot now be traced.

I have hinted that the vast superstructure which John Wilkinson raised, rested more than was acknowledged on the foundations which others, his predecessors, laid. Mr. Norris says:—"I do not suggest any disparagement of John Wilkinson, but I consider other persons, perhaps

[1] Thomas Harvey married Hannah Serjeant (a sister of the wife of Abraham Darby) in 1699, was largely engaged in the iron-trade, and died in 1731 leaving two sons, Thomas Sergeant Harvey and Benjamin Harvey, the elder.

[2] This Mr. Gee published in 1727 a book entitled *The Trade and Navigation of Great Britain Considered.* This also I learn from Mr. Norris.

less energetic, but equally capable, quietly opened the way which he and others were able to follow to their [own] great advantage."

And now I must conclude with the expression of my great indebtedness to Mr. Norris for the additional information I owe to him, and which I have presented in this Appendix.

A. N. P.

Wrexham, June 16, 1898.

WELSH FOLK-MUSIC.[1]

By MISS MARY OWEN (MRS. ELLIS GRIFFITH).

I.

In a certain sense, music is a universal language that knows neither race nor clime. But though this may be true, music has many idioms. I invite you to a consideration and a hearing of some of the folk-music of Wales—that music which has neither author nor composer, but forms the anonymous inheritance of the people.

The origin of Welsh music is lost in the mists of mythology and the uncertainty of early days. The beginnings of music may be traced to the cradle of the human race; at the very dawn of civilisation the music of nature affected and influenced the minds of men. The voices of birds and insects, the fluttering leaves, the rushing rivers and the sad murmur of the sea, were the primitive lessons and examples of modulated tones. Gradually the skill and art of man imitated and reproduced the sounds of nature.

In pre-historic times music passed through three stages of development, and each stage was characterised by a special class of instrument. The elementary period of percussion represented by cymbals, drums and bells was

[1] Read before the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion, at 20, Hanover Square, on Thursday, 26th March, 1898. Chairman: The Hon. William N. Bruce.

succeeded by the stage of wind instruments, which in turn were followed by stringed instruments. These three stages mark the progress from a period where the organ of time developed into the sense of Tune.

It would serve no useful purpose to discuss whether the Britons brought over their music with them on their original migration from the East, or whether they borrowed it from the Phoenicians with whom they came into commercial contact, or whether they learnt it from the Greeks. This, at least, is certain, that from the earliest times the Welsh showed a very marked gift for poetry and music.

Before the Welsh first woke to the sounds of Roman arms, they had made some progress in the art of music. Princes and Kings varied their prowess in the field with accomplishments in the domain of song. The Druids were, as Tacitus describes them, the Masters of Wisdom and monopolised the knowledge of Arts and Science. They were the divines, philosophers, physicians, legislators, prophets, historians, musicians, heralds and antiquaries of the Ancient Britons. Gradually music, instead of being the means of delivering words effectively, became an art of producing sounds harmoniously, and at this stage the musician parted company with the bard. The three perpetual choirs at Glastonbury, Salisbury, and Bangor-is-y-Coed have left no traces: 2,400 voices at each place supplied a choir of 100 for each of the 24 hours, and chanted in rotation without intermission.

As the Druidic cult fell into decay, and the Druids were expelled, the history of Britain is lost in uncertain traditions. But the song of the soil survived the national disasters, and bard-musicians sang the records of their day and clung to their old privileges. It was regarded as unlawful to commit their verses to writing, and in this

way, the mystery of their learning, and the value of their services, were preserved. Thus, there was an oral succession of carefully-prepared verses. They embodied the varied information of the time, and were called Pen-illion, or Head-lines, because they were learnt by heart, or rather by head, and never desecrated or vulgarised by written publication. This was the origin of the triads which contained the chronicles and deductions of early times.

The first four centuries of the Christian era were dark ages spent in fighting against great odds, but in the commencement of the fifth century there was a revival of national and musical life. In the middle of the seventh century, King Cadwaladr presided at an Eisteddfod which gave new laws to music and poetry; and Friar John of St. David's is said to have been appointed the first Professor of Music at the University of Oxford. *Morva Rhuddlan* is supposed to have been written in 795 by Caradog's bard, immediately after the disastrous battle in Flintshire, when the king of North Wales was defeated and killed, and his army perished by the sword and the tide of the sea.

The *Laws of Hywel Dda* (942) prove that at that time the Bards were held in high esteem, and were entitled to various privileges, rewards, and fees. The Laureate Bard *(Y Bardd Teulu)* was the eighth officer of the King's household. The Chief Bard of the district *(Y Pencerdd)* was the tenth officer in rank.

For one hundred and fifty years Music and Poetry were united in the same person. They enjoyed the prerogative of petitioning for presents, which was carried to such excess that they were controlled by law in the time of Gryffydd ap Cynan. This Prince, in 1100, invited to Wales some of the best musicians in Ireland. He was displeased with the disorders and abuses of the Welsh

Bards, and promulgated a body of institutes to amend their manners and correct their art.

A MS. transcribed in the time of Charles the First by Robert ap Hugh, of Bodwigan, in the Isle of Anglesey, from William Penllyn's book, is the Charter of Welsh Music. It contains the most ancient pieces of music of the Britons handed down from the ancient Bards. All the music is written for the crwth in an alphabetical notation. It gives an account of the Musical Congress and revolution of 1100. It dealt with several subjects:—

Firstly: The four and twenty Measures or Canons of Instrumental Music. All were made conformable to the laws of harmony as they were settled in Congress by many professors, Welsh and Irish. The twenty-four Canons consisted of a given number of repetitions of the chords of the tonic and dominant, according to the length of each measure.

Secondly: The five principal keys of Welsh music were established. The first was:—"Is-gywair"—the low key or key of C. The second, "Cras-gywair"—the sharp key or key of D. The third, "Lleddf-gywair"—the oblique flat key or key of F. The fourth, "Go-gywair"—where the third above the key note is flat. The fifth, "Bragod gywair"—mixed or minor key.

Thirdly: The orders of the Bards and Musicians were separated, and each was placed on a statutory footing. Of the Musical Bards:—The first were performers on the harp; the second were the performers on the six-stringed crwth; and the third were the singers, *i.e.*, singers to the harps of others. They were to be able to tune the harp and crwth, to play the thirteen principal tunes with all their flats and sharps, and to be able to restore a song corrupted by transcribers.

Fourthly: The manner of holding an Eisteddfod, the

granting of literary degrees, and the revision of rules for the composition and performance of music. The Eisteddfod was a rigid school. There were triennial examinations for Bards and Musicians; and any disciple who at the expiration of his triennial term could not obtain a higher degree, was condemned to lose that which he already possessed. Four musical degrees were recognised—the last degree was *Pencerdd Athraw* or Doctor of Music.

The next authority on Welsh music is Giraldus Cambrensis. Writing in 1187, he states with reference to the Welsh: "They do not sing in unison, like the inhabitants of other countries, but in many different parts. So that in a company of singers, which one frequently meets with in Wales, as many different parts and voices are heard as there are performers; who all at length unite, with organic melody, in one consonance and the soft sweetness of B flat." This, if accurate, proves that counterpoint was known to the Welsh at this time, and that Welsh music was in the modern key system. "Singing a song in four parts with accentuation" was one of the twenty-four ancient games of the Welsh, and is corroborative proof on this point. This reference to there being as many parts as there are singers, and the singing being not in unison, but in harmony, has led some writers to the conclusion that harmony was a British invention. The credit is generally given to Dunstable (1400-20), who by making each voice-part independent raised music to the rank of a structural art. Dr. Burney says that Giraldus Cambrensis is inaccurate, and his criticism is that counterpoint, however artless, is too modern for such remote antiquity.

The earliest example of Welsh music is of the time of Charles the First, and is in the British Museum, and pur-

ports to contain music settled in 1040. This MS. is doubtless copied from much earlier records, and contains pieces for the harp, or more probably for the crwth, in full harmony. There is no doubt that some of the songs, *i.e.*, the words, are as old as 1040, and the prose contained in the MS. is to be found in Dr. Rhys' *Welsh and Latin Grammar* of 1592, but whether the tunes and notation are coeval with the words is a question for experts.

Giraldus' statement, written in 1137, that "the Welsh are emulous to imitate the Irish in musical proficiency," has given rise to great controversy as to how far the Welsh borrowed or adopted their music from Ireland. There is no ground for such a suggestion, and in 1204 the same author wrote: "The Welsh esteemed skill in playing on the harp beyond any kind of learning"; and "to be ignorant of music is as disgraceful as not to have learnt to read." How could this be said of a nation that had recently begun to study music?

The period between the years 1100 and 1282, the era preceding Llewelyn Ein Llyw Olaf, and the conquest of Wales, is the brightest in our annals. The remaining history of Welsh music is speedily told. Edward the First kept a stern eye on Welsh Bards and Musicians, as was but natural, for he rightly regarded them as hostile to his power, and the most powerful advocates of Welsh independence.

In Henry the Fourth's time there was a sudden burst of song to welcome Glyndwr's achievements, but with his failure the Muse too was extinguished. The Tudor succession gave freedom to Welsh Bards and Musicians, but by the time of Elizabeth minstrels and rhymers had become intolerable and were put down by Act of Parliament. The Statute classed the strolling singer with rogues and vagabonds and sturdy beggars, or as the popular

couplet puts it:—

> "Beggars they are by one consent,
> And rogues by Act of Parliament."

Thus was the measure of their humiliation complete, and they fulfilled the fate of their Greek prototypes. Dr. Burney traces in four stages the decline of all of the musicians of Greece. At first they were gods; then they became heroes, subsequently they were called bards, and, lastly, they became beggars. When reading was little practised, when newspapers were unknown, the minstrel thrived. The introduction of printing and the spread of knowledge were fatal to the prestige of his past position. When men learnt their letters they forgot their harp and crwth.

Having now sketched the history of early Welsh Music, I now come to deal with:—

II.

The Instruments and Notation of Wales.

This part of my subject has been exhaustively dealt with by Edward Jones *(Bardd y Brenin)*, in his great work on *The Musical and Poetical Relicks of the Welsh Bards*, and by Mr. John Thomas *(Pencerdd Gwalia)*, in his learned contribution to the *Myvyrian Archaiology of Wales*.

In ancient Welsh works "to play upon the harp" is expressed by the phrase "to sing upon the harp" *(Canu ar y delyn)*. The same idiom is applied to the crwth. This *Canu ar y delyn* meant at first that the harp music was the melody and that it sang, the chords being played upon the crwth as an accompaniment. Later, when the penillion were recited in harmony, with the melody played on the harp, the human voice gave the words and the harp the melody. In this sense the harp sang, and the Welsh phrase, *Canu ar y delyn*, is justified.

It is certain that folk-music preceded the folk-tale, and it is more than probable that instrumental singing, as I have just explained, came before voice singing, or in the terse words of our own language:—*Mae cerdd tant yn foreuach na cherdd tafod.*

This order of development has a most important bearing upon the music of Wales. The *Tri chof ynys Prydain,* which dealt with the chronicling of battles, the preservation of the language, and the history of genealogy, were at all times reduced to a form that should be suitable for singing. The crwth is referred to in the year 600—*Chrotta Brittanicâ canat.* Curiously enough, it was at one time used as a tenor accompaniment to the harp, so that the crwth supplied the instrumental music and the harp "sang" the melody.

Edward Jones says that the musical instruments of the Welsh were six in number:—The harp, crythan (two kinds, one with three strings and the other with six), bagpipes, pibgorn, bugle horn, and the tabret (or drum). Of these the harp and the crwth were the favourites.

An attempt was made in 1100 by Gryffydd ap Cynan to introduce the pipes from Ireland, but the attempt failed, and the native music refused to be displaced by the proposed importation. Nor is this to be wondered at; for why should a people that loved the harp waste any affection upon the pipes. The Bards ridiculed the pretensions of the alien pipes, though they came to Wales under Royal patronage. Davydd ap Gwilym said:—

> "Ni luniwyd ei pharwyden
> Nai chreglais ond i Sais tren."

But the harp was lovingly reverenced, the language of the soul dwells on the strings—*Iaith enaid ar ei thannau.* So that when eight hundred years ago it was endeavoured to inculcate a taste in Wales for foreign music, public

opinion triumphed over the wishes of those in authority, and the harp and crwth survived the attack.

The improvement of the harp proves that the Welsh had in earliest times not only musical ability, but great technical skill. The single-harp, with the difficulties of sharps and flats, was superseded by the double-harp, which in its turn was followed by the triple-harp, invented in the fourteenth century, and referred to by Davydd ab Edmwnt in a poem written in 1450. The two outside rows were tuned in unison according to the diatonic scale, and the inner row supplied the flats and sharps, so that the instrument gave the complete chromatic scale. The strings are on the right side of the comb, and this is a peculiarity which makes the Welsh harp unique. A mechanical device, by means of pedals, to alter the key without the trouble of tuning, gives us the harp in its modern and best-known form. The crwth was second in the rank of Welsh musical instruments. In one form it has six strings, in another three. The last good player on the crwth, according to Edward Jones, was John Morgan, of Newborough, who lived more than a century ago.

It is important to remember that harp-playing was not confined to a few as now. It was the accomplishment of the many. At entertainments the harp was passed round from guest to guest, and inability to play was a reproach and a proof of gross ignorance. Slaves alone were prohibited from learning. Ability to play on the harp was the indispensable qualification of a gentleman. A professor of the harp enjoyed many privileges, his lands were free, his person sacred. The book, the harp, and the sword were the three ornaments of a class, and all three were beyond the reach of legal process. The musician was recognised as an officer in the administrative system of the country and took a high place in the scheme of

government. The *Laws of Hywel Dda* mentioned three kinds of harps—the harp of the king, the harp of the *Pencerdd* or Master of Music, and the harp of a nobleman —and it is significant to note that the Master of Music takes his place between the king and the nobleman, a recognition that there is an aristocracy of intellect as well as of birth and valour.

The system of musical notation used in Wales is supposed to have been peculiar to the country. A manuscript discovered in the middle of the eighteenth century sets out this system. The characters are those of the ancient bardic alphabet, and as three or four letters are placed perpendicularly one above the other, it is clear that chords were played. In Guido's scale, and in the national music of Ireland, there is a peculiarity, viz., the absence of the leading note. In Wales each scale has its leading note, which constitutes a mark of musical superiority over the music of any other country.

Edward Jones points out that there is a key peculiar to Wales and very effective. This is the fourth key of the five I have before mentioned as being in use in Wales, the *go-gywair*, and has the third above the keynote flattened. It is very quaint and *Distyll y don* is the best example.

It is said that in Norway, and amongst the Hottentots, there is a similar deviation from our modern intervals, and the gorali, the favourite instrument of the Hottentots, is so tuned that the third note above the keynote is slightly lower than the major third and slightly higher than the minor third. This is a coincidence which is somewhat remarkable.

The peculiarity of each part ending in the fourth of the key is rare, but is to be seen in *Dadl Dau*. Dr. Crotch says it must be admitted that the regular measure and

diatonic scale of Welsh music make it more natural to experienced musicians than the music of Scotland and Ireland. It was composed chiefly for the harp, and in harp tunes there are often solo passages for the bass as well as for the treble. The folk-music of Wales was certainly composed for the harp and crwth, and most of its characteristics are to be attributed to this circumstance. The harp with its plaintive, tranquilising, soothing tones is the congenial symbol of Welsh thought and emotion.

"Nid oes nag angel na dyn
Nad wyl pan gano delyn."

III.

I now come to deal with the characteristics of Welsh Folk-music.

An eminent musician, who some years ago read a paper before this Society on "The Possibilities of Welsh Music," set himself to justify the title of his paper, and to prove that there was such a thing as Welsh music. In dealing with Folk-music, I am happily relieved from so perplexing a difficulty. It may be that Wales can produce no great composer, or world-known artist. It may be that Wales can prove no high musical culture. Her present may be barren and her future unpromising, *but* nothing can deprive Wales of her musical past.

The Shakespearian age was the culminating period of English music. It has been truly said that a general history of music after 1700 might omit almost entirely the compositions of Englishmen; and where Englishmen have had to import their musical products from Germany, it need be no serious reproach that Wales has failed where England has not succeeded. It is always dangerous to generalize, especially in dealing with nationalities. But the attitude of nations to music is an absorbing subject.

It cannot be pretended that the English race, or the German people is musical. No one can deny but that the Welsh are eminently musical. Though the English (in Dunstable) discovered music as an art, and the Germans developed its form and structure, yet the Welsh can best express and enjoy it. The discovery, the development, and the enjoyment of music are the three gifts thus distributed, and apart from intellectual pre-eminence, I think it will be admitted that the Welsh have been endowed with the best part. They understand the meaning and sway of music, they feel its effects, they know its message; for after all "what should they know of music who only music know?"

But though the English as a race are less musically gifted than the Welsh, yet when the musical gift is found amongst the English, they cultivate it to a higher point than has yet been reached in Wales. Great compositions are the work of individuals, whereas Folk-music, though sprung from the brain of one, has been retained in the memory of many. Hence we find, as we should have expected, that England far excels Wales in musical works, just as Wales excels England in Folk-music. The reason is that the average Celt is above the average Saxon, and the greatest Saxon is above the greatest Celt. Amongst the Saxons it is the individual: among the Celt it is the standard that stands high. A high general average is not a fruitful ground for the production of genius, but it is most suitable for the preservation and improvement of that music which has to do with the every-day life of a people, and is part of their domestic, social, military and religious life. The growth of Folk-music depends upon a general high average of musical intelligence and culture, and nowhere were these conditions more favourable than in Wales.

In all infant communities everything worth remembering was sung. In Wales, too, the records were composed and declaimed or sung to the accompaniment of music. This rhythm took the place of prose as a means of speech. This supplied an endless array of subjects for Bards and Musicians—the march into battle and the deeds of the soldier—the incidents of the chase—the pride of ancestry —the passion of love—the lament for the dead—the joyousness of the dance—the praises of conviviality—marriage songs, funeral songs, labour songs, harvest songs, nursery games and dreamy mystic legends—are all themes for Bards and Musicians.

The very heart of a people is laid bare in its songs. The Folk-songs of Wales reflect the history and temperament of the people. Their moods, sad and gay, lively and severe, will be found concentrated in song. Their popular traditions, their fears and despair, the varying changes of their lot, are pourtrayed by the Bard Minstrels.

To investigate the origin of Welsh folk-songs is now an all but impossible task. To determine even the century in which they were composed is recognised as beyond the wit of the most expert musician. They were not composed in the ordinary sense of the word, they came like the fairies, only unlike the fairies they stayed. They grew, and their growth marks not a year or a decade, but an epoch of time.

Clychau Aberdyfi (The Bells of Aberdovey) may have had fairy origin. The singing of the Tylwyth Teg is one of the most popular traditions in Wales. The fairies could not count beyond five, the number of fairy fingers. In this case the chwech (six) must have been added in later times. This is illustrated in the Myddfai and Little Van Lake legend, which is set out in Principal Rhys' *Welsh Fairy Tales*. There the Fairy's dower, on consent-

ing to become the bride of a mere mortal, was to consist of as many sheep, cattle, goats, and horses, as she could count of each without heaving or drawing in her breath. She immediately adopted the mode of counting by *fives*. Thus, one, two, three, four, five—one, two, three, four, five, as many times as possible in rapid succession, till her breath was exhausted. The same process of reckoning had to determine the number of goats, cattle, and horses respectively, and in an instant the full number of each came up out of the lake, when called upon by the father of the fairy. I sing *Clychau Aberdyfi*, as a fairy song, and omit the number after five.

The distinctiveness of Welsh music is not in structure but in meaning, not in form but in expression. The characteristic of Welsh folk-songs is their simplicity. This sums up the quality which distinguishes them from the folk-songs of other countries. They are peculiar in that they are natural.

This characteristic is attributable to two causes. The character of the people and the peculiarity of the harp. Wales was a sparsely populated country; centralised art was unknown. It was a country-bred people without access to town life. It was isolated, and its music was kept intact against alien influences. Then the harp was a perfect instrument. Its diatonic scale impressed itself on the music of the country. Hence dignity rather than piquancy, and simple results rather than strange effects. Thus the character of the people and the cadence of the harp made for sweetness, simplicity, and beauty.

Heartiness, wit, and ruggedness, mark the old songs of England, Ireland, and Scotland, but Wales has a melodious rhythm denied to the sister nationalities. Welsh music is more harmonised, more naturally flowing. It strains after no effects, it makes no pretensions, it is neither

artificial, nor conventional, nor crude, nor noisy, nor vulgar, but there is about it a sweet and delicate refinement, which is the more wonderful in that it grew in an isolated and mountainous country, far from the current of artistic thought and culture.

Further than this, Welsh folk-songs have lost nothing by their purity and refinement. The tragic meaning of *Morva Rhuddlan* lives to this day. The melody is simple, there is no strange striving after the unexpected, there is no attention-calling dissonance—but the air sets out with a purpose and expresses in terse intense tones the terrible woe of a desperate people that had staked and lost their all. There is no hysterical affectation of grief, the calmness and dignity of despair breathe through the melody. And yet the air has a history of eleven centuries.

In addition to this simplicity, we have also a sympathy, a mystery, and an earnestness, which stand out prominently as characteristics of the early music of Wales. The plaintive note is also a prominent feature. But it is more than probable that the minor key and the melancholy note have been superimposed on many Welsh songs during the last hundred years. Thus *Mentra Gwen* is invariably sung in Wales in the minor key, though it appears in every collection in the major key. John Parry *(Bardd Alaw)* stated that Welsh melodies can be set in either the major or the minor key, according as the base is altered. I do not think that our ancestors were sad and mournful, as they are sometimes supposed to have been. Though the untoward fate of their country accounts for the note of sadness, I believe the Welsh were a merry and a vivacious people. All this has changed now, and how far the religious revival in Wales had this effect it is difficult to determine. The Puritan fathers, though they admitted that "musicke was lawfull, usefull and commendable,"

set their faces against many of the means, or at least, the associations of the means, whereby Welsh music was kept alive in village fairs and hostelries.

From what has been said it follows that Welsh folk-songs do not lend themselves to analysis. Their simplicity is such that they must be described negatively rather than positively. And it must be remembered, too, that true music, like nature, does not initially or primarily make us think. It makes us feel. And while the feeling is maintained the positive activity of the mind is suspended in pure emotion. It is only afterwards, when the emotion has gone, that the critical faculty is called in to give an account of how and why the emotion was caused.

But this is a point at which there is little to be added beyond the ultimate fact that certain successions of sounds embodied in scales are pleasing. To proceed further would be to lengthen an argument without elucidating it.

It may be permissible to say, in parenthesis, that though the folk-songs are simple, there is no reason why those who sing them should think they have the right to abandon the rules of correct time and good taste. It is unnecessary and inaccurate to violate these beautiful melodies with sham passion, which is out of all proportion to the sentiment contained in so many of them. The melody may not afford the singer the opportunity desired of showing off to the best advantage the singer's best note, but the audience will not be content without that note being violently inserted or unduly prolonged. There are certain musicians, too, who think that to modernise is to improve, and thus, with the best intentions in the world, they improve an old air out of existence and lose entirely the sturdy, straightforward character of the original theme.

Besides the airs which appear in the ordinary collections,

I ought to refer to the most remarkable feature of Welsh music, I mean the penillion singing. This practice is found nowhere out of Wales, and dates back to the Druids, whose learning was embodied in the form of triads and penillion. The singing of epigrammatic stanzas to the accompaniment of an old Welsh melody (with well-marked time) depends not on the quality of voice, but upon a keen sense of rhythm and ability to enunciate, in fact speaking on a tune in harmony with the melody played upon the harp. There were two kinds of penillion singing. The simpler consisted in the singer extemporizing his words to the melody, and at the end of each line of the stanza there is a chorus as in *Nos Galan*.

The more difficult form was difficult indeed. The singer must not begin with the melody, but he must join in it at such a point that he may be able to end with it. He recites the lines on any note that may be in keeping with the fundamental harmony of the melody which accompanies. The best known example of these is *Pen Rhaw*, which was composed, or at least obtained its present name, about the beginning of the fifteenth century.

IV.

I wish to add a few words as to the place of folk-songs in the preservation of nationality. The language of Wales has preserved the nationality of Wales. It is true that people who have lost their language, except its brogue or its accent, have maintained their national identity, but language is the greatest and surest sign and proof of separate national existence. The Welsh language owes its vitality to poetry, music, and the religious revival. It would be impossible to apportion the result between the varying causes, but it is admitted by all that Welsh music is not only a symbol of Welsh nationality, but also a living

factor in the maintenance and recognition of that nationality. It appeals not only to the understanding, but also to the ear and heart.

The songs of a people are as important as its laws, for laws may be, and often are, imposed upon the unwilling; songs cannot survive except by the glad assent of those amongst whom they grew and lived. The songs of a country therefore reflect the unmistakable bias of a country and the bent of its genius. And the songs of Wales are the voice of the people as interpreted by the national instrument.

Goethe said that "the special value of national songs and ballads is that their inspiration comes fresh from nature, they are never got up, they flow from a pure spring."

It is well that we should be taken back to this natural and pure spring, and renew our energies by the inspiration we can and ought to draw from such a source. Should patriotic effort grow weak and uncertain, there is no better incentive than the graceful, melodious and pure music of our country.

Ceiriog, than whom no one was more stirred by the inspiration of poetry or the breath of patriotism, refers to this in one of his beautiful poems. In spite of inevitable changes that take place from generation to generation, and though leaders of the people are lost, yet the old tongue and the ancient airs remain to preserve and maintain the national life of Wales.

We women may well be proud to remember that it was Lady Charlotte Guest who translated the *Mabinogion* and opened up a great literary treasure; and that it was Miss Williams of Aberpergwm, by her careful collection and publication of the ancient national airs of Gwent and Morganny, who enriched the musical inheritance of the Welsh people. And for those of us who cannot hope

to share in the great movements of the day, it is a consolation to know that if we may happily be permitted to spread a knowledge, and widen an appreciation, of the songs of Wales we shall have done some slight service to the land we love so well.

THE CHARACTER OF THE HERESY OF THE EARLY BRITISH CHURCH.[1]

By FRED C. CONYBEARE, M.A.

It was during the third and fourth and fifth centuries that Christianity established itself in these islands, planting itself nowhere more firmly, and nowhere throwing out more vigorous roots than in Wales and Cornwall and Ireland. Already, in an age antecedent to St. Patrick's, we hear of many Scotti or Irishmen who were famous for their piety or learning in lands remote from their island home. Among such, Mr. F. E. Warren, the learned editor of the *Stowe Missal*, mentions the names of Mansuetus, the first Bishop of Toul, in France, in the fourth century, Caelestius the Pelagian at the end of the third and the beginning of the fourth century, Eliphius and Eucharius, who were martyred in France in the fourth.[2] In those ages the religion seems in no way to have owed its advancement in these islands to the arms and prestige of the Roman Government, nor could it be otherwise. For the fourth century was well advanced before Constantine, from motives of policy, cast in his lot with the Church; and even after he had done so, he still remained in parts of the west, the

[1] Read before the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion at 20, Hanover Square, on Wednesday, May 11th, 1898. Chairman Mr. Alfred Nutt.

[2] The Rev. F. E. Warren, p. 35; R. Brash, *Eccl. Archit. of Ireland*, p. 110; H. and S., ii, p. 291.

open and avowed patron of the classic gods and goddesses. Moreover it required generations to pass away before the memory of the persecutions of the Roman Government could fade, and its power and authority be presented in the popular imagination as favourable to the Christian religion. These considerations explain how it is that Christianity took the firmest hold of parts of our islands where the Roman authority the least penetrated.

Like the dew upon Gideon's fleece the grace of the new religion fell silently and refreshingly upon our land, and made a gentle conquest of the wild clans that held the inaccessible Highlands of Wales and the lofty Moorlands of Cornwall. The early Missionaries had to tell of a God who was single and supreme, unlike the petty Deities who were many, so many that, as you traversed the country, you passed rapidly from the province of one into that of another. He could not be confined in images of wood and stone, he could not be stolen by enemies, and therefore needed not bars and bolts to guard Him. He was merciful and forgiving, not liable to be born or to die, and his rites were neither cruel nor obscene. Daniel, the Bishop of Winchester, a man in whom the spirit of the early British missionary was not quite extinct, though he lived as late as the eighth century, wrote in the year 724 a letter to Boniface of Maintz, full of common sense about the best way of overcoming the obstinacy of the country people of Thuringia, who still clung to the old Pagan Cults.

"You should not, he says, flatly deny the genealogy of their gods, false though they be. Rather agree with them, and let them assert that any of their gods they like have been engendered by others in actual marriage relations. This is your best way of proving to them that their gods and goddesses, having been born after the manner of mere men, were rather men than gods; and that they had a beginning, as they did not exist previously. When, however, you have compelled them to learn that their gods had a beginning,

as having been generated the one by the other, then you must ask them whether they think that this world had a beginning, or whether it always existed without any beginning. If it had a beginning, then who created it? for it is pretty clear that before the construction of the world they could hardly find a place for gods so born to subsist in and inhabit . . . . If they argue that the world has always existed and never had any beginning, you must be careful to refute and overthrow them on this point with many proofs and arguments. If they are still not satisfied, ask them who governed and ruled the world before their gods were born? Ask them also how their gods managed to subject to their own power and authority a world which for ever had existed before they were born? Ask them whence, and by whom, and when the first god or goddess was constructed or engendered? whether in their opinion the gods and goddesses are still busy engendering other gods and goddesses? or if not, when and why did they give up having sexual relations with one another and bearing children? If, however, they still continue to generate others, point out that by now the number of gods must have reached infinity, and that mortals can nevertheless not be sure among deities so many and so important which is the most powerful; so that extreme caution is necessary, lest you should offend the stronger one . . . . Ask what advantage the Pagans suppose they confer upon their gods by their sacrifices, when the latter already have every thing at their disposal?"

I will not trouble you with all the arguments which the good Daniel desires Boniface to fire off against the Pagans. The value of the passage lies in the anxiety it reveals on the part of Daniel, that Boniface should devote himself a little more to convincing the intelligence of the Pagan *Agrestes*—and from the style of argument advocated by Daniel we gather that they had plenty of intelligence—and that he should trust rather less to the forcible methods of conversion on which he was too inclined to pride himself, such as the sacking and burning of the Pagan shrines, the triumphant hewing down, under the armed protection of Frankish soldiery, of their sacred oaks, the wholesale cutting of throats in the name of Christ, the baptism by force of the conquered residue of tribes so subdued. Therefore the good Daniel, having sketched out the

dialectical methods to be pursued, adds the following exhortation to his too fiery co-religionist:—

"These and many similar arguments, which I have no time now to enumerate, are those which you should oppose to them; not by way of insulting and irritating them, but quietly and with the greatest moderation. And every now and again you must point the contrast between such superstitious opinions as theirs and our own, that is to say, Christian dogmas; and so touch them as it were on the flank, in such a way that they will blush with confusion rather than with exasperation, at the idea of their entertaining such absurd opinions, and because they realise that we know all about their harmful rites and fables."

It was because the Celtic missionaries never leaned, like Boniface, on the secular arm, because they trusted to persuasion and not to force, to quiet rivalry in well-doing and not to violence, that the work they did, not only in these islands, but all over the continent, never had to be done over again, for they did not limit their horizon to men of their own blood and speech; but, as St. Bernard[1] said at a later day, their bands of missionaries and saints poured themselves like a flood over foreign lands; and the old British writer Gildas[2] says that the British priests, far from shrinking from travel, found their best pastime in sailing over the seas and in wandering over distant lands. And wherever they penetrated, since they made their appeal simply to the heart and intelligence of their converts, they founded, as the Irish saint Aileran (*sub voce* Aminadab) says, a *spontaneus domini populus*, a willing and self-offering people of the Lord, sons of God and co-heirs with Christ, as he elsewhere expresses it.

Those who desire a record of the work achieved by the early British church will find, in the pages of Mr. Warren and of others who have written about it, lists of the monasteries which they founded both in these islands and

[1] Vita S. Malachi, ch. 6. [2] Haddan & Stubbs, ii, 1, 70.

all over the continent. And these monasteries were not homes of mere monks, but centres of further missionary effort and of learning. As penmen and artists in particular the Celtic saints excelled, and up to the tenth century it was they that wrote the most exquisite prayer-books, and were the best workers in leather, metal, and wood. No other people could chase copper and iron as they could, and for beauty of form and delicacy of interlacing pattern their stone crosses are unrivalled.

Yet the charge was unceasingly and unflinchingly urged against the British church by the contemporary popes and doctors of Rome, that its teaching was heretical and its baptism and orders null and void. And its abbots and missionaries in return were not slow to challenge the growing claims of the Bishop of Rome to supreme authority in the matter of rites and belief. Thus the history of the venerable Bede relates how in the year 597 of our era Augustine of Canterbury was sent by the Pope to convert the Angles (so far as these really needed conversion), and equally to amend the errors which deformed the older christianity of our islands.

It is probable that the paganism of the Angles at this time has been somewhat exaggerated, for when Augustine reached their country he found at least two Christian churches within a few miles of his landing-place, wherein public worship had never ceased and was still being conducted. He also found the wife of King Ethelbert a fervent Christian, and her husband a ready catechumen. We may fairly conclude that the religion had made considerable strides among the Angles before Augustine's advent, and that he can only be called their apostle by a pious courtesy. However this may be, he lost no time in asserting the Roman authority, armed with which he had come, over the old believers of the land, and, at the

instance of Ethelbert, seven of the bishops, along with several doctors of the neighbouring province of the Brettones, arranged to meet and confer with the newly-arrived emissary of Rome at a spot afterwards known as Augustine's oak, probably Aust on the Severn, opposite Chepstow.[1] The British clergy came from their monastery of Bangor in Flint, and, according to Bede, had already debated among themselves the point whether or no they should desert their own traditions and accept the preaching of Augustine. Dinoot, their abbot, had given them some shrewd advice in regard to the matter: "Follow Augustine," he said, "if you find him to be a man of God." "And how shall we test him on this point?" they replied. "The Lord," answered Dinoot, "said to us, take my yoke upon you and learn of me, because I am gentle and meek of heart. If, then, this Augustine be gentle and meek of heart, it may be believed that he himself bears the yoke of Christ and offers it to you to bear. But if he be ungentle and proud, it is certain that he is not from God, nor must we then attend to what he says." But they asked in turn, "and how shall we be able to decide if this be so?" "Take care," answered their Abbot, "that Augustine with his retinue shall be the first to reach the place of conference. Then if he get up off his seat and rise to meet you when you approach him, you will know that he is a servant of Christ, and in that case you must respectfully give ear to what he says. If, on the contrary, he flouts you and refuses to rise from his seat to meet you, although you outnumber his party, then let him in turn be flouted by you."

Then Bede narrates how they did as their Abbot advised, and it turned out that when they came up

[1] See Plummer's Bede, ii, 76.

Augustine did not stir, but remained seated in his chair. Seeing which they were soon turned to anger, and being convinced of his pride, they tried to contradict all he said. And what he said to them was this: "You do certainly proceed in many ways contrarily to our customs, or rather to those of the entire church. Still if you are willing to obey me on the three following points, namely: If you will keep Easter in its proper season; if you will perform the rite of baptism, whereby we are re-born unto God, according to the manner of the holy Roman and Apostolic Church; lastly, if you will join with us in preaching the Word of God to the race of the Angli, then we will tolerate and overlook all your other practices, although they are contrary to our customs."

Bede, who has left us this picture of the Synod at Augustine's oak, was a sincere adherent of the Papal party in these islands. Therefore we may rely upon its fidelity, as we could not do had it been drawn by an enemy. Yet Augustine, as pourtrayed in it, is not a very conciliatory person.

And the impression formed in our minds from the beginning of Bede's narrative of this conference is deepened, if we read it to the end. "The other party," he says, "replied to Augustine that they would not do any of these things, nor would they have him as their archbishop. And they conferred among themselves and said: Since he refused even to get up from his seat to meet us, how much more will he flout us if we once begin to give way to him?" "And then," continues Bede, "Augustine is said to have threatened them, and to have foretold that if they refused to accept peace as with brethren, they should have war as from enemies; and if they refused to preach the way of life to the Angli, then by the hands of these same Angli they should suffer vengeance."

Many historians, otherwise favourably disposed, have expressed their regret at the attitude thus taken up by Augustine towards the older Christianity of these islands so soon as he found himself confronted by it. It is hardly our ideal of peace with brethren. The Celtic races, moreover, whatever their faults, are at least gifted with a natural grace of courtesy, which in itself must have rendered Augustine's rudeness strange to them. But the British bishops must have been doubly shocked when this *soi-disant* apostle passed from mere ill-breeding to threats of violence, as soon as ever they discovered their inability to bow down before him and admits his pretensions to authority.

It is characteristic of Bede that he is ever most reticent about the errors of the early British church. Its observance of Easter is the only such point which he condescends to notice in any detail. And this exception is intelligible, for the difference of date involved the great practical inconvenience that one party would be fasting and in sorrow, while the other would be making merry and feasting the risen Christ. Bede's reticence about his ecclesiastical opponents even goes to this length, that he studiously ignores throughout his history St. Patrick, the great Irish missionary, whose name he never once allows himself to utter. In the same spirit of reticence he never once deigns to inform his readers of what was wrong with the Celtic or British baptism. And it is the chief aim of this paper to try to ascertain what the defect in the early British baptism was, to which the older church was so resolved to cling. On this point Messrs. Haddan and Stubbs, in their *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents relating to Great Britain and Ireland*, write as follows, vol. i, p. 153 :—" The precise defect intended is left to conjecture. Single immersion seems most probable."

But Mr. Plummer, in his recent edition of Bede's *History*, vol. ii, p. 75, justly points out that this cannot have been the case; because the very Pope Gregory who dispatched Augustine to Britain had no preference for trine over single immersion, supposing the latter was the custom of any given country. Nor is it likely to have been the omission at Baptism of chrism and confirmation, both of which the Irish church maintained, if the epistle of St. Patrick, *ad Coroticum*, 497 A.D., is to be held genuine. And even if it is not, we shall see from evidence to be presently adduced that this was not a cardinal defect which invalidated baptism in the eyes of the Popes in the eighth century, and is, therefore, not likely to have invalidated it in the seventh. This much is certain, that from the Roman point of view the Britons had no baptism at all, and, therefore, no priesthood and no sacraments. For I cannot agree with Messrs. Haddan and Stubbs[1] that except on this one occasion, by St. Augustine, no stress was laid upon any question respecting baptism in the British controversy. Surely it was enough for the first founder of Bede's Church in England to have once for all rejected the British baptism? It lay at the root of the dispute, and the condemnation once solemnly pronounced by Augustine did not need to be constantly repeated. When, however, Egbert[2] denies, with emphasis, that there was any baptism among the Angli until Augustine came to England, it is probable that he glances at the invalidity of the British rite. For it is inconceivable that the British saints refused to evangelise the Angles and to baptise them. They were the most enthusiastic missionaries that the world has ever seen, and they risked all perils of land and sea, in order to evangelise the same race in its old

[1] Vol. i, p. 154. [2] Archbishop of York, 732-767 A.D.

home across the North Sea. I shall presently point out that Bede's allegation that the Britons would not join with him in preaching the word among the Angli must either be dismissed as incredible or subjected to a very different interpretation. However, even if we put aside the words of Egbert, what shall we say of the fact that St. Theodore, Archbishop of Canterbury, A.D. 670, in his *Penitentiary* (ii, 9), expressly orders Scotti and Brettones to be rebaptised? "Not only," so he writes, "shall those Priests who have been ordained by the Bishops of the Scotti (that is the Irish) and of the Brettones have hands laid on them afresh by a Catholic Bishop, not only shall the churches consecrated by their Bishops be reconsecrated, but to the members of these Irish and British churches. the Chrism and Eucharist shall be refused, even though they ask for it, unless they have beforehand confessed their willingness to join us in the unity of the Church." "And likewise," adds this writer in conclusion, "those who belong to this race, or anyone who has felt a doubt about his baptism, shall be baptised." The intention of this last proviso is clear. Members of the Irish and British churches were anyhow to be re-baptised, if they were known to have been dipped by a British or Irish Bishop. And more than this, if a man even had a doubt about the catholicity of the Priest who had baptised him, he was to undergo the rite afresh. Now it is a commonplace of Church History, that the Popes from the first recognised as valid the baptism of heretics, so long as they were correct in the form and matter of their baptism. It was therefore a very extreme measure for Theodore, the successor of Augustine in the see of Canterbury, to ignore the British baptism. It was tantamount to a denial on his part that the British and Irish were Christians at all.

Let us then examine and find out what was considered

by the Popes of the seventh and eighth centuries to be the essential thing and *sine qua non* in baptism. And having found out what it was, let us further examine contemporary writers and see whether they do not make it plain that it was the want of this very thing in British baptism that rendered it invalid.

Now the Papacy was met by just the same difficulties in Northern Europe during the eighth century, as in England during the seventh. It was not so much that it had to cope with a vigorous paganism, for the older cults were in that age nearly everywhere extinct or fast waning, save perhaps in the recesses of the land of the Frisii. The real problem was how to reduce to conformity with Rome the Christianity which before that age Irish and British missionaries had planted, and were still watering, in Lower Frisia, in Old Saxony, in Thuringia, among the Bavarians and the Franks. These missionaries, by their patient efforts, had done all the rough work of evangelisation, but they were not in communion with Rome. How was Rome to grasp their heritage?

Now Winifred, or Boniface, as he was afterwards called, was from about the year 715 till the year 754 engaged in executing for the Popes, in the countries just named, the same task which Augustine had been sent a century earlier to these islands to achieve, the task, namely, of effacing the last traces of a decaying paganism and of reforming, as the Pope euphemistically put it, the religion implanted by the Celtic missionaries. In the correspondence of Boniface then, as we might expect, the question of what is valid baptism is often touched upon and proposed to successive Popes for settlement. It is as often declared by them, when so interrogated, that the *sine qua non* of baptism is the invocation of the Trinity in all its three persons. Nothing else is essential, but the omission of

this invocation, the neglect to mention all three persons of the Trinity, utterly invalidates the rite.

Boniface was a native of Crediton, in Devonshire, and received his training at Exeter among papal Christians before he passed across the North Sea to his great life work on the continent, whither he must have carried scruples, susceptibilities, and prejudices formed and acquired in the west of England. Now it is remarkable how morbidly anxious he is about the very aspect of sound baptism on which I have just touched. Thus, in 744, when he had become papal legate for the whole of Germany, he writes to the Pope Zachariah to know how he should proceed in regard to a certain Bavarian priest who, through ignorance of the Latin language, had in baptising sundry persons used the formula, "Baptizo te in nomine patria et filia et spiritu sancta." In his zeal for sound baptism, Boniface, instead of waiting for the Pope's decision, took the extreme step of rebaptising the persons over whom this formula had been used. The Pope answers[1] that herein he was wrong, for that the baptising priest had but unintentionally mangled the Latin language, and had introduced no error or heresy.

The next Pope, Stephen,[2] returns a similar answer in the year 754 to certain of the inmates of a British Uniat monastery at Carisiacum on the Isar. They had propounded the question, whether the baptisms of a presbyter were valid, who was not sure that the bishop who had ordained or blessed him was orthodox, that is to say Papal and not Celtic. The Pope replied that the baptism was valid, if duly conferred in the name of the Trinity, and added that even a layman's baptism so conferred in cases of

[1] See Migne, *P. L.*, tom. 89, col. 929 C.

[2] S. Stephani Papae II, Ep. 18 in Migne, *P. L.*, 89, cols. 1026, 1027.

necessity was good. In reply to the further question, if a baptism, in which wine instead of water was used, was also valid, the same Pope answers, yes, if the Trinity was invoked. Another decision of the same Pope bears still more upon the problem we are examining of what constituted the invalidity of the Celtic baptism. For the case is laid before him of a presbyter who not only in baptising had neglected to use the Creed, the Lord's Prayer and the Psalms, but also could not adduce evidence to prove that the Bishop who had consecrated him was orthodox. "Let this presbyter, answers Pope Stephen, be deprived and incarcerated in a monastery. But let his baptisms be held good, provided always the persons were baptised in the name of the Trinity." And a crucial decision of the same sort is contained in a letter of the Pope Gregory[1] the Second, written to Boniface in A.D. 726, in answer to various queries:—"You have informed me," writes this Pope, "that certain persons have been baptized by adulterous and unworthy priests without their having been interrogated about the symbol or creed. In such cases you shall adhere to the ancient custom of the church, which is that one who has been baptised in the name of the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghost, must on no account be rebaptised, for the gift of grace is not received in the name of the baptiser, but in the name of the Trinity."

The term adulterous, here used of the priest who neglected to use the orthodox creed, of course means no more than heretical; and in that age it was a comparatively mild and gentle epithet to apply to one who rejected the authority of the Pope.

It in no way detracts from the utility for my argument of these instances, which might be multiplied, that Boni-

[1] S. Gregorii Papae II, Ep. xiv, in Migne, *P. L.*, 89, col. 524.

face was working in Germany, whereas the Celtic Church with which we are concerned was in these islands. For the latter part of this objection is not true. The Celtic Church ramified all over the Continent, and Boniface's letters prove that its bishops and missionaries, with their imperfect teaching, confronted him wherever he turned. "The reformation of the Christian religion" was the Pope's own description[1] of Boniface's task, and it meant the capturing for Rome of the converts that the Celts had everywhere made, and the forcing upon them of doctrines more up to date than those of the earlier missionaries. Witness Boniface's own description of these Celtic missionaries in his letter 12 addressed to Daniel, Bishop of Winchester:—

"They are false priests and hypocrites, who are fighting against God and are lost to themselves, and seduce the people by their many stumbling blocks and divers errors, saying to the people, in the words of the prophet, peace, peace, and there is not peace. And the seed of the word which has been derived from the bosom of the church catholic and apostolic, and has been intrusted to us, and which we are eager to sow however little, they strive to oversow with their weeds and to suffocate or turn into grass of a pestiferous sort. And what we plant they will not water, that it may increase: but are eager to pluck it out and cause it to wither away, offering instead of it to the people, and teaching to them, new sects and errors of various kind."[2]

It is apparent from this letter that the Celtic clergy only wished for peace in their flocks, and that the arrogance of the Pope's legate alone disturbed it. It is also clear that his dogmatic narrowness was not acceptable to the people, and this was doubly bitter to Boniface. A letter of Pope Zachariah to him survives, in which the latter point is more explicitly brought out.

[1] Hincmarus in *Ep. Sen. Opusc.* 44, cap. 20, in Migne, *P. L.*, 89, col. 691 D.

[2] In Migne, *P. L.*, 89, col. 700.

Boniface recalls, in the same letter of the year 723, how when he was consecrated at Rome by the Pope, he had sworn on the body of St. Peter not to hold any communion or even personal intercourse with the uncanonical Celtic clergy.[1] In another letter, No. 27, written A.D. 733, Boniface[2] calls them pagans and false Christians, fornicating clergy and pseudo-sacerdotes, unless indeed he here has in mind the so-called Manichean teachers, who do not seem to have been numerous. In yet another letter to the Pope Zachariah, A.D. 744, Boniface complains of the injuries and persecutions suffered by him at the hands of the false priests, adulterated deacons and fornicating clergy, among whom he particularly names two, Aldebert, a Gaul, and Clemens, a Scottus or Irishman.[3] In connection with the latter he prays the Pope to make an end of the fables of the heretics, of their empty prodigies, of their miracles of the forerunner of Antichrist.

In the Council of Soissons, A.D. 744, Boniface, according to his biographer Willibald, excommunicated and handed over to Satan these two bishops, with the assistance of the most Christian princes of the Franks, Caroloman, and Pippin. It is to be noticed that in this council the decrees of the Eastern Councils were for the first time promulgated in the kingdom of the Franks.

The language of the Romanising clergy in these islands, like their cause, was in the meanwhile identical with

[1] So also in Ep. 75 to Zachariah, A.D. 751, in Migne, *P. L.*, vol. lxxxix, col. 777 B. & C.

[2] Migne, *P. L.*, lxxxix, 724 A.

[3] *Ibid.*, 752 A. Aldebert's teaching is distinguished from that of Clemens, and he appears to have been what Gregory II elsewhere calls a Manichean (*Ibid.*, 502 C.), but really akin to the Montanists or Paulicians of the East. See Migne, *P. L.*, lxxxix, cols. 927, A.B., 752, 939.

Boniface's. Daniel of Winchester, to console him for his difficulties with the Celtic missionaries of the Continent, writes to him as follows (Migne, *P.L.*, lxxxix, 707 B.) :—

"Of this also I would remind you, my dear friend, that although we are parted by a wide tract of land, and an immense breadth of sea, and though our climates differ widely, yet we are oppressed by just the same mass of troubles as yourself. There is exactly the same activity of Satan here as yonder."

And Gregory the First, in giving to Augustine of Canterbury his commission, indicates that the Celtic Church had no form of right belief or right living.[1] And in the same year, A.D. 601, he hints plainly to Augustine that Celtic orders were in the opinion of Rome non-existent: "you are the only Bishop in Britain," he writes;[2] and in virtue of his being so Augustine was allowed to consecrate without the assistance of other bishops. Yet Celtic bishops were ever within call, had the Roman party recognised their orders.

St. Aldhelm also, Bishop of Sherburne, in A.D. 705, according to Bede (*Hist.*, v, 18), wrote a marvellous book against the errors of the Britons, "according to which they celebrate the Pascha at the wrong time and carry on many other practices contrary to ecclesiastical purity (*i.e.*, orthodoxy) and peace." Aldhelm acknowledged the purity and strictness of the Celtic coenobial system, but asked what use it was outside the Catholic Church. "Your priests," he wrote to Geruntius of Cornwall, "do not in the least agree with us in the rule of the catholic faith (that is in creed), and by their feuds and verbal combats with us give rise within the Church of Christ (that is within the Romanising party itself) to grave schism and

[1] Bede, *Hist.*, i, 29: Recte credendi et bene vivendi formam. "Such a form, says Gregory to Augustine, they shall imbibe from the language and life of your Holiness."

[2] Bede, *Hist.*, i, 29.

cruel scandal."[1] A little earlier we read that Pope Vitalian, in A.D. 667, proclaimed his intention of selecting an Archbishop of Canterbury, "who should root out by the will of God all the enemy's tares."

Lastly, Pope Gregory the Third, A.D. 739, particularly warns the Bavarian and Alemannic bishops against the British missionaries, meaning probably, as Haddan & Stubbs point out, Welsh or Cornishmen. "You are," he writes, "to obey Boniface and reject and prohibit gentile rites, and the teaching whether of Brettones when they come, or of false priests and of heretics from whatsoever quarter."

It is useless to contend, as have done many writers over zealous for the good name of the Celtic Church, that the denunciations of the writers whom we have just quoted were inspired by the racial hatred which an Angle felt instinctively for a race which he had wronged. This may perhaps excuse the fierce exultation of Bede, when he relates the treacherous murder of four hundred British monks surprised at their prayers. But it does not explain the attitude of the Popes, who in all their dealings and policy were never motived by racial prejudices. Still less does it explain the rancour with which the Celtic missionaries were pursued all over the Continent, in wide and remote regions whither the petty antagonisms of these islands cannot possibly have found an echo. And if it be further contended that the papal feeling against them was due to the fact that they resisted and denied the authority of the Pope, it may surely be replied that they can only have resisted the Popes, because they rejected the doctrines which he wished to force upon them. Even if we had no further evidence on the point, the passages above adduced

[1] Migne, *P. L.*, lxxxix, col. 88: in Catholicae fidei regula secundum scripturae praeceptum minime concordant. *H. & S.*, i, 672.

from the correspondence of the Popes with Boniface would make it almost certain that the real defect in British baptism was the absence of any invocation of the Trinity. For that is the point on which Boniface manifests so extreme, so morbid, an anxiety. Now by good fortune a letter of the Pope Zachariah to Boniface survives, which in the amplest manner confirms this view. It belongs to the year 748,[1] and is an answer to a letter of Boniface's, which had referred to the same matter. "Your first point," writes Zachariah, "regards the Synod of the province in which you were born and bred, which as far as regards the Angles and Saxons was decided and judged and governed by the first preachers sent from the apostolic seat, to wit by Augustine, Laurentius, Justus, Honorius, and recently in your own times by Theodore."

The date of the Synod here referred to is fixed by the context of the letter, which refers it to the times of the Pope Gregory the first. Therefore Haddan and Stubbs (vol. iii, p. 51) place it in the period 591-603. The province in which Boniface was born and brought up may only mean Great Britain, but more probably refers to the kingdom of Wessex, since Boniface was born at Crediton and educated at Exeter. There is thus a strong antecedent probability that the synod in question was the very one at Augustine's Oak, on which we have already dwelt.

Now Zachariah goes on to tell us something about the decrees passed in this synod, as follows:—

"In that synod the following decree and decision was most firmly laid down, and it is recognised to have been demonstrated, that whoever shall have been washed (*lotus*)[2] without the invocation of

[1] Baronius gives this date. For the letter see Migne, *P. L.*, lxxxix, col. 943.

[2] Notice how careful Zachariah is to use the word "washed" or "dipt," *not* "baptised," of the imperfect British rite.

the Trinity, shall not be held to have received the sacrament of regeneration. And this is everywhere true, that if anyone has been dipt in the font of baptism without invocation of the Trinity, such an one is not perfect. To be that, he must have been baptised in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost."

Now in the seventh century synods were not got together in order to condemn imaginary errors, and this decree must have been aimed at a practise which really existed in these islands, especially in the western parts of England, where in the year 600 the Celtic Church was as yet the only form of Christian organisation and the sole evangelising agency. It is clear to demonstration that the Celtic bishops and doctors baptised without using the formula, "In the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost." And the first thing Augustine did, when he reached our shores, was to make it clear to them that he could not act with them nor they with him, unless they conformed on this point.

In the immediate sequel the Pope repeats from Boniface's letter to himself the declarations with regard to the use of the invocation of the Trinity in baptism made by certain persons whom he does not name, but who in the main agreed with the decisions of the English synod just alluded to. The passage is as follows:—

"You have told me in your letter that it is affirmed by certain persons, that the sacrament of baptism is, beyond doubt, actually conferred on anyone who has been dipt in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, the Trinity having been invoked according to the Evangelical words in accordance with the rule laid down by the Lord. They affirm that in such case the baptism is so firmly consecrated by the Evangelical words (*i.e.*, Matt. xxviii, 19) that, even though it be a most wicked heretic, or schismatic, or robber, or thief, or adulterer that has so conferred it on a person who besought it of him, nevertheless the baptism so consecrated by the evangelical words is the baptism of Christ. On the other hand, these same persons affirm that even though the minister be a just man, yet if he has not pronounced the Trinity in

the Font according to the rule laid down by the Lord, then that is not true baptism which he has bestowed. 'Well,' says the Pope, after thus summarising what Boniface had written to him, 'with regard to these filthy and unreliable heretics and schismatics, who baptise in the name of the Trinity; and, further, with regard to the others, who without invocation of the Trinity dip in the font of baptism, you are well aware, my brother, what the series of canons has in it about them. We exhort you to hold firmly to those canonical decisions. . . . . Abide also by the decision which you received from our predecessor in this apostolical see, Gregory."

The concluding sentence of the above refers to the letter No. xiv, of Pope Gregory the Second, which we have already quoted. Boniface, it is clear, wished to follow the example of Theodore of Canterbury, and to disallow the baptisms of heretics and schismatics, even though they used the Trinitarian formula. The certain persons whose affirmations in a contrary sense he had reproduced in his letter to Zachariah, were more moderate persons in his diocese who desired to follow the general rule of the Church, which was to recognise such baptisms. Zachariah, like Gregory the Second, casts his vote on their side. But it was evidently too liberal a decision to please Boniface, who was daily encountering these heretics in the flesh. He wished to recognise as valid none of their acts, not even baptism conferred in the Name of the Trinity. The just ministers who neglected to use the Trinitarian formula were the Celtic clergy spread over Germany. The thieves, and robbers, and adulterers, who invoked the Trinity in baptism, were probably the Manicheans, of whose existence among the Thuringi we learn from the fourth letter of Gregory the Second (Migne, *P. L.*, lxxxix, 502 C.). These so-called Manicheans seem to have been Christians of a more primitive type than the Celts, and very numerous in the neighbourhood of Cologne, in which region they had a bishop named Aldebert, who was the object of Boniface's special detestation. So far as one can judge from the

sparse mention of them in the epistles of Boniface and the Popes of the time, they had much in common with the Paulicians, who in that age were beginning to assert themselves in the east. In a later age they may have coalesced with the remnant of the Celtic Church to form that strong leaven of Catharism, which in the twelfth century was to be found in Cologne, in Bonne, and indeed everywhere along the Rhine. From the tenth epistle of Zachariah it is certain that these Manicheans baptised children and consecrated churches in the name of the Trinity. They formed in the eighth century, however, a sect apart from the converts of the Celtic missionaries, and the discussion of their tenets would require a separate paper.

In the passage which follows in Zachariah's interesting letter, the nature of the defects which invalidated the British baptism becomes increasingly clear, for he proceeds to give examples of the imperfect baptismal formulæ which the English synod had condemned, and of which the actual use among the British clergy cannot be doubted, since neither in those days, nor in later ones, did ecclesiastical synods load their guns with so much care, in order to fire them off at nothing. This is how Zachariah continues:—

"This point also in the aforesaid synod the priests attended to, namely that if anyone in baptising neglected to name even a single person of the Trinity, his baptism so conferred could not be true baptism. Because it is most certainly the case, that he who has neglected to confess one (of the Persons) of the Holy Trinity, cannot be a perfect Christian. For one who confesses Father and Son, if he has not also confessed the Holy Spirit, has neither Father nor Son. Also one who shall have confessed Father and Holy Spirit, but has not confessed the Son, he has neither Father nor Holy Spirit, but is empty of the Divine Grace."

It is evident from such a passage that the Celtic priests omitted sometimes one, sometimes two Persons of

the Trinity in their baptismal invocations. The Father it appears was always mentioned, and sometimes stood alone. Besides him was added, if another Person was added at all, sometimes the Son, sometimes the Holy Spirit; but never the Son and Holy Spirit both together. Such was the defect in the British baptism which rendered union with Rome impossible.

The question therefore becomes one of great interest and importance, whether among the genuine remains of the Celtic Church we can find traces of the use of such imperfect baptismal formulæ. It is, of course, hopeless to look in documents; for all the literary remains of this Church have come down to us through the hands of orthodox Catholics, who freely revised everything away that they felt to be in the least discordant with the beliefs of their own age. Even the earliest of the Celtic service books, the *Stowe Missal*, is seen, when we examine it, to be merely a book written for the Uniat Celts, who had made their submission to Canterbury. Accordingly we find in it prayers for Anglican saints, and the Nicene Creed is put in a prominent place in the Baptismal Service, evidently as a manifesto, since in other copies of the rite it is absent. Such was this *Stowe Missal* in its first form, as its ninth century scribe originally wrote it. But even in that form it evidently contained much that very soon became distasteful to the orthodox mind. For, as the Editor of it, Mr. Warren, points out, nearly the half of the original writing has been effaced and re-written in two later hands; and often you will find that all three hands have been at work on the same page. Mr. Warren points out that in all the most ancient Celtic books that he has seen these erasures in large patches of the original writing, to give place to newer hands, is common. No fact could shew more clearly that there was much in the prayers and

rubrics of the Celtic Church which a later, and I suppose a more orthodox, age was under the necessity of forgetting and concealing.

It is useless then to search in manuscripts for what we want. But there is another class of record which cannot so easily be falsified, namely, lapidary inscriptions. It is Professor Rhys who lately drew my attention to a whole series of monuments which seem to confirm to the letter the statements of the Pope Zachariah and the deductions I have drawn from them. We saw that the British priests and doctors who met Augustine and refused point-blank to give up their peculiar form of baptism, whatever it was, came from the monastery of Bangor in Flintshire and its neighbourhood. It was also in Wales that the Celtic Church held out longest against the encroachments of Canterbury. Hence we naturally look first to Wales for some traces of the lost past which we seek, and we are not disappointed.

At Vaenor in Brecknockshire there was a stone cross, now destroyed, bearing the legend "I NOMINE DI SUMI, TILUS," "in the Name of the Most High God, Tilus." It is fairly certain from the analogy of Christian *Cippi*, as they are found all over the world, that the formula "in nomine dei summi," on this stone represents the formula used at the baptism of Tilus, when through the regeneration of the holy font he was reborn a son of God and entered the kingdom of heaven. This stone is, by the experts, who have seen it or a picture of it, dated anytime from the year 450 to 700.

The same inscription is found on the stone pedestal of a cross at Llantwit (Hübner, *Inscrip. Britanniæ*, No. 62): "IN NOMINE DI SUMMI INCIPIT CRUX SALVATORIS QUAE PREPARAVIT SAMSONI APATI PRO ANIMA SUA ET PRO ANIMA IUTHAHELO REX: ET ARTMALI TECANI.✣" A Juthael,

King of Gwent, died 848 A.D., to which epoch this inscription may belong.

At Margam, in Glamorgan (Hübner, No. 74), on a cross of the eighth or ninth century is this legend: "IN NOMINE DI SUMMI. CRUX CRITDI (=CRISTI) PROPARABIT (=PREPARAVIT) GRUTNE PRO ANIMA AHEST."

At the Margam Chapterhouse, in the same county, is an old cross with the legend: "ILCI FECIT HANC CRUCEM. IN NOMINE DI SUMMI."

Now the words of the Synodal decree as quoted by Zachariah: "Qui *vel* unam . . . personam . . . non nominavit," imply that the two minor persons of the Trinity were habitually omitted. This is just what we find in these four inscriptions.

Zachariah further cites the decree to the effect that in other forms of baptismal invocation the British clergy omitted the name sometimes of the Son, sometimes of the Spirit. Accordingly, at Llantwit Major we find a cross with this legend: "IN NOMINE DEI PATRIS ET SPIRITUS SANCTI HANC CRUCEM HOWELT PREPARAVIT PRO ANIMA RES PATRIS EIUS."

Here Professor Rhys thinks he can make out before the word *spiritus* an *F* with a mark above it representing *filii*. In any case this cross must represent the invocation formulæ which only mentioned the Father and the Holy Spirit. If *filii* stood, that only shews that the persons who erected the cross had not yet learned to distinguish the Son from the Holy Spirit, and the Holy Spirit from the Son.

To the same stage of dogmatic evolution unquestionably belongs the next inscription, which is found at Merthyr-Mawr on a cross, the date of which Prof. Rhys puts as early as the year 750, and Professor Westwood between 600 and 850, but anyhow later than the one at Llantwit

Major. The legend on it is this: "IN NOMINE DEI PATRIS ET FILI SPIRITUS SANCTI . . . . . IN GREPHIUM. IN PROPRIUM. USQUE IN DIEM IUDICI."

Here *Sancti* was read by Professor Westwood, but Professor Rhys finds it barely legible to-day. The intervening words represented by dots are also illegible, and it is not clear that it is a memorial stone of one dead, though it well may be. The word *Grephium* suggests a deed of gift to hold good until the day of judgment. At least the word occurs in this sense in the Latin *Acts* of the old Welsh Saint Caradoc.

In all the old Welsh inscriptions of this class, as Professor Rhys has observed, the Trinitarian formula: "In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost," is not found at all; and this negative fact, taken along with the formulæ that do remain, is most significant.

It is probable that both of the two classes of inscription which we find on these Welsh stones represent a very early phase of Christian opinion, which in baptismal formulæ may easily have survived as late as the ninth century among so conservative a people as the Welsh; retained even long after their acceptance of the more developed Christology with which the conceptions that originally underlay these formulæ were irreconcileable. Motived by mere conservatism the Welshmen who set up these crosses had probably forgotten what the formulæ inscribed really imported. For Zachariah, the Pope, himself seems not to understand the meaning of the formulæ which the British Synod had condensed. For the formula "In nomine dei summi," is in a Christian inscription not so innocent as it looks. It is distinctly Jewish and Monotheistic, and in certain environments exclusive of the belief in the Divinity of Christ as held by orthodox Catholics.

I do not imply that in the fifth and immediately following centuries the Welsh Church was without this belief. That would be ridiculous, but I do think it more than probable that those who first carried the religion into these remote regions represented a long-lost and soon superseded stage of Christological opinion, a stage in which the orthodox conceptions finally elaborated in the fourth century were still in the making, but not yet made; or, if already made in the great workshops of Christian thought, Alexandria, Antioch and Rome, not yet accepted in the outlying parts of the Roman Empire, still less beyond its pale. Earlier formulæ, which in the later stages of theological definition became heretical were, I repeat, carried to these islands by the first missionaries, and, stereotyped by a traditional reverence, they lingered on, at a time when, in other services, the more elaborate formulæ of a later date had authoritatively asserted themselves.

The formula "In nomine dei summi" answers to the Greek *ἐν ὀνοματι Θεοῦ ὑψίστου*; in the New Testament we often meet with the title *Θεὸς ὕψιστος* used of God the Father. Thus in *St. Mark*, v, 7, the Demoniac addresses Jesus as "Thou Son of the Most High God." In *St. Luke*, i, 32, Jesus Christ is "Son of the Most High," the word God not being added. In *St. Luke*, i, 35, he is "The Power of the Most High." In *St. Luke*, vi, 35, Jesus promises to those of His hearers who shall love their enemies that they shall become like Himself "Sons of the Most High." In *Acts*, xvi, 17, the girl with a spirit of divination acclaims Paul and his companions as "the servants of the Most High God." Lastly in *Hebrews*, vii, i, Melchizedek is called "Priest of God Most High."

And quitting the New Testament we find the title applied by converted Pagans to the God of the Jews. And there is a long series of inscriptions discovered all over

Asia Minor and also in the Bosphorus and Crimea, which reveal the existence of regular *Thiasoi* or clubs formed under the influence of Jewish missionaries for the worship of the one God. These worshippers were known as *Hupsistarii*, or as the *Sebomenoi Theon Hupsiston*, "Worshippers of God Most High." Here is a typical inscription of one of these clubs: "TO THE MOST HIGH GOD, AILIOS THREPTION, PONTIANUS, SEVERUS, MAKER, THE BRETHREN IN PRAYER." Here the word "brethren" has a religious sense, as in the epistles of Paul, and probably indicates that the inscription is an early Christian one. So also must the following one from Phrygia: "TO THE MOST HIGH GOD, AURELIUS ASKLAPON OFFERS THE PRAYER WHICH HE PROFESSED IN ROME." The prayer in question must be the Lord's Prayer, which in the earliest Church only the baptised could use, since until you were reborn, you were not a son of God and could not address Him as the Father. As late as the twelfth century in the Armenian Church the catechumen was forbidden to use this prayer, and among the Albigeois the ceremonial bestowal of it on the neophyte was the first step in the initiation into the mysteries of the Church.

The isolated prominence given in these Welsh stones to the *deus summus* is redolent of the second century, when the apologists of christianity were in the habit of presenting their religion to the polytheists as a purely monotheistic cult, because as such it stood in the strongest contrast to the many gods of Paganism. It is not strange if among the Celts the invocation in the initiatory rite of baptism of the Highest God should have been deemed all-sufficient. That rite protected the convert from the demons who prowled around seeking to devour him, and from the vengeance of the supernatural spirits whose cult he forsook in becoming a Christian. What name could so effectively

shield him as that of the most High God? Nor was such a baptismal formula unknown elsewhere; for as late as the second half of the fourth century we meet with it in Asia Minor, where Gregory of Nyssa, in his work against Eunomius (B. xi, *sub fin.*) accuses the Arians of using it. They baptised, he says, not in the name of the Father and Son and Holy Ghost, but of the Creator and Maker alone. And forthwith he proceeds to censure these Arians, who in his age were the monotheistic party within the church, for holding the Creator of the World to be not merely the Father of Christ the only born son, but also the God of Christ, in the same sense in which he is the God of all mankind. That is to say, in the opinion of Gregory, the use of this formula implied on the part of those who used it a failure to recognise the unique divinity of Jesus Christ, God Incarnate.

The other formula, "In the name of God the Father and of his Son the Holy Spirit," has an unmistakeable second century air. For in the writers of that age the distinction between the Divine Son or Word or Christ and the Holy Spirit was not yet clearly and universally formulated. It may be true that the Matthaean formula, "In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit," was already written in the gospel, and was destined to bring into Christianity the explicitly Trinitarian formulæ, which only emerge about the year 200 in Christian literature, though they are met with in the writings of the Jew Philo a whole two centuries earlier. Still, in Christian writers of the second century it is common to find the Spirit identified with the Son or Word. Of this identification I will now give a few examples, the geographical dispersion of the writers in whom we find it proves that in the earliest Christian thought it was almost universal.

1. *The Shepherd of Hermas* is a monument of the Roman

Church at the beginning of the second century. In it we read, Similitude ix, 1: "The Holy Spirit, for that Spirit is the Son of God." The same phrase meets us in Similitude v, 5, of the same book.

2. Tertullian, at the close of the same century, wrote in his book against Marcion the following, iii, 16: "The Spirit of the Creator which is Christ." And in his treatise on Prayer, Ch. i, this: "The Spirit of God and Word of God and Reason of God, the Word of Reason and Reason of the Word, and Spirit, both one and the other is Jesus Christ our Lord."

3. Maximus, of Turin, in his tract against the Jews, a work based on a lost book of the second century, writes as follows: "The Immaculate Spirit, that is the Son of God, took human flesh of the Virgin Mary."

4. Justin Martyr, writing about A.D. 140, in his *Apology for Christianity*, i, 33, p. 75 B., says that "we must understand by the Spirit and the Power which came from God nothing else than the Word, who is also the Truth born under God."

5. The pseudo-Cyprianic tract entitled *About the Mountains of Sinai and Sion*, which was written early in the third century, has in its 13th chapter the very Latin formula found on the Glamorganshire crosses, "Sanctus Spiritus Dei Filius." The whole passage is this: "The Holy Spirit, the Son of God, beholds Himself doubled; Father in Son, and Son in Father, they behold Each the Other in Himself." And in the sequel the writer identifies both the Son and the Spirit with the Saviour Christ, and adds the following remarkable words: "We, who believe in Him (*i.e.*, the Saviour), behold Christ in ourselves, as Christ Himself taught and advised us in the Epistle of John His disciple to the people, saying: So shall ye behold Me in yourselves, as anyone of you beholds him-

self in water, or in a looking-glass." This Epistle is lost.

6. In yet another North-African tract, of a later age, entitled *To Vigilius the Bishop about Jewish Unbelief*, we find the Spirit identified with the Christ in this passage: "The Holy Spirit, that is Christ our Lord, Who came forth from God the Father to save the lost ones of Israel."

7. In the disputation of the Catholic Bishop Archelaus with Mani, a Latin document of which the Syriac original belonged to about the year 275, the Spirit of God which descended on Jesus in the baptism in the Jordan is identified with the Christ and Son of God. By Its entrance into the Man Jesus, the Latter became the chosen and adopted Son of God the Father. To the same train of thought belonged the error of which Basil of Cæsarea, in his 72nd Letter, accuses the Arians of Armenia about the year 374, the error, namely, of believing that the Holy Spirit was older than the Son Jesus Christ.

In the earliest church, as represented in the *Acts of the Apostles*, baptism in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, seems to have been unknown or little used. For converts are baptised in the Name of the Lord Jesus (*Acts*, viii, 16, and xix, 15), or in the Name of Jesus Christ (*Acts*, ii, 38). Nor is there any trace of the triple formula in St. Paul's Epistles. It is reasonable to conclude that in the earliest church there was in use a variety of baptismal invocations; and Basil of Cæsarea devotes ch. 12 of his treatise on the Holy Ghost to refuting those who in baptism invoked the Lord alone, basing their usage on the words of St. Paul, *Gal.* iii, 27, "All of you who have been baptised into Christ."

It is a very significant fact that the baptismal service in the *Stowe Missal*, the oldest *quasi*-Celtic service-book we have, altogether omits the baptismal invocation. The

Editor, Mr. Warren, notices in connection with this fact that the same omission occurs in other early Sacramentaries, *e.g.*, in the Gelasian and in a ninth century Sacramentary, *Cod. Colbert.*, No. 1348, printed by Martene, *Ordo* 5, vol. 1, p. 66. Probably in the Western Church there was so much dispute as to what was the right formula, that it was long left to individual presbyters to use that one which they preferred. The continual insistance in the correspondence of the Popes of the seventh and eighth centuries on the use of the triple formula as essential to true baptism will convey to the mind of every critical student of ecclesiastical documents the impression that in the preceding ages that formula had not been in general use, otherwise so much stress would not suddenly come to be laid upon it. No doubt the Popes were wise, from their point of view, in insisting on uniformity in this matter as a first condition of inclusion in their church, with its claims to universality. For catholicity was only to be won by the extinction of divergent local usages, and baptism as the initiatory rite of the religion was the most important of all rites, and that which must the first be reduced to uniformity.

It is not to be supposed that the introduction of Christianity into these islands took place as early as the second century, and this is not the deduction to be made from the survival in Welsh Christianity of religious formulæ of that age. It is too frequently forgotten by the historian of Dogma that the development of opinion did not go on everywhere at the same rate, and that a new conception might easily gain acceptance as early as A.D. 200, in Rome or Alexandria, which were the two great laboratories of Christian speculation in the first age, and yet not be adopted in the recesses of Gaul till a hundred years later; and then perhaps require another fifty years

in order to penetrate into Great Britain. That it was so in the eastern half of the Christian world we know on ample evidence. For the electionist christology which was condemned in Rome as early as 190, continued to be popular in Antioch as late as 260, when the Emperor Aurelian, from mere motives of high policy, suppressed it in the person of Paul of Samosata. At the end of that century it was still the orthodoxy of the Tigris and Euphrates valleys, and it survived among the mountains of the Taurus all through the middle ages, while in Spain it was not suppressed before the ninth century. The presence therefore of such archaic formulæ on Welsh stones as late as the ninth century only allows us to infer that the first missionaries, who, perhaps, not before the beginning of the fourth century evangelised Wales, ultimately drew their religious conceptions from a circle of believers such as we know to have remained unmolested within the Roman official Church as late as the year 190, when Zephyrinus drove them out. Nor did his excommunication mean their extinction in that city, for we read in Eusebius that they continued to exist there in force for another century at least, with their own bishops and their own ecclesiastical organisation, always protesting that they were the true Church of Christ and their creed the really orthodox one. I believe, therefore, that if we want to find the real fountain-head of Celtic Christianity, we must go back to the Roman Church of the second century, as it was before the Pope Zephyrinus drove out with anathemas Theodotus and his followers. In that conflict, so disastrous to the whole future of the religion, Theodotus represented the conservative element, the official Pope the party of innovation.

In the above pages I have confined my enquiry to the one question of what it was that rendered invalid in the

eyes of Roman ecclesiastics the baptism of the Celtic church. But it is evident, even from the scanty records we possess, that the differences and antagonism of the rival systems extended all along the line. Thus Boniface (*Ep.* lvii) attests that the Irish bishop Clemens, in the province of the Franks, "opposed the Catholic Church, gainsayed and refuted the canons of the Churches of Christ and the treatises and sermons of our holy fathers Jerome, Augustine and Gregory." Similarly, in the Pope Zachariah's letters (No. xi) we read of another Irish presbyter named Samson who was reported by Boniface to be in favour of dispensing with baptism altogether. This may mean, either that Samson merely opposed child baptism, or that, like some of the later Cathars, he preached a spiritual baptism which superseded the baptism by water of John. If we had all the evidence before us, we should probably be able to show that the Catharism, which in the middle ages was the home religion of many all over Europe, was largely the legacy of the early Celtic Church.

Samson, says Zachariah, "holds and avers that a man can become a Catholic Christian without any mystic invocation (of the Trinity) or laver of regeneration, by the imposition of the bishop's hands alone." This was exactly the teaching of the Albigeois in a later age.

It is reasonable, also, to suppose that any particular form of teaching which Bede, who passed his life combating the earlier Christianity of these islands, constantly and invariably reprobates, was one that was still current in his time and belonged to the earlier faith. If so, the British Church must certainly have taught that Jesus was not born divine, was not by birth the Christ and head of all creation; but only received the Sonship, the Christhood, the Headship when, in the Jordan, after John's baptism,

the Spirit entered into Him and dwelt in Him. The *man* Jesus was then chosen and adopted Son of God, then became Christ, having been until then mere man and purely human. This was an orthodox opinion in Rome until about 190, when Zephyrinus pronounced against it, and in Antioch, until in A.D. 269, it was condemned in the person of Paul of Samosata. In outlying circles of believers it lingered for centuries later. We may fairly infer, from Bede's incessant denunciation of it, that it was the characteristic faith of the British Church.

NOTE.

The Council regret that it has not been found practicable to include in this number the paper on "The Greater Wales of the Sixth Century," read by Mr. ERNEST RHYS *(Rhys Goch o Ddyfed)* before the Society on Wednesday, the 20th April, 1898. If possible it will be included in the next volume of the Society's Transactions.—[E. V. E.]

DEVIZES:
PRINTED BY GEO. SIMPSON.

Cymmrodorion Record Series.

THE idea of the publication of Welsh Records, which had for some time occupied the thoughts of leading Welsh Scholars, took a definite and practical shape at the meeting of the Cymmrodorion Section of the National Eisteddfod held at Brecon in 1889. In the papers which were read at that meeting it was shown that a vast quantity of material necessary for understanding the history of Wales still remained buried in public and private Libraries, and also that such of the Welsh Chronicles as had been given to the world had been edited in a manner which had not fulfilled the requirements of modern scholarship.

As it appeared that the Government declined to undertake any further publication of purely Welsh Records, it was suggested by Sir John Williams that the Council of the Cymmrodorion Society should take the work in hand, and establish a separate fund for that purpose.

The Council are of opinion that a work of this magnitude cannot be left to private enterprise, although they thankfully acknowledge the indebtedness of all Welshmen to such men as Mr. G. T. Clark of Talygarn, the Rev. Canon Silvan Evans, Mr. J. Gwenogfryn Evans, Mr. Owen Edwards, Mr. Egerton Phillimore, and Professor John Rhys, and they fully appreciate the valuable work done by members of the various Antiquarian Societies.

Private enterprise has enabled the Council to issue, without cost to the Society, the first number of the Series which they have undertaken. The edition of *Oren's Pembrokeshire*, two parts of which have already been issued), is the result to Mr. Henry Owen—a member of the Society's Council—of long and arduous labour, and of an expenditure of a sum of money which would enable any patriotic Welshman who follows that example to present similar numbers of the proposed Series to his countrymen.

The second number of the Series consists of Records from the Ruthin Court Rolls (A.D. 1294-5), edited by Mr. R. Arthur Roberts, of the Public Record Office. *A Catalogue of the Welsh Manuscripts in the British Museum*; a transcript of *The Black Book of St. David's*, and new editions of *Nennius* and *Gildas* are in course of preparation.

In the future numbers of the Series will be published, from public or private MSS., with Introductions and Notes by competent scholars, such Records as will throw light on some period of Welsh History. These publications will, the Council trust, go far to remove from the Principality the dishonour of being the only nation in Europe which is without anything approaching to a scientific history.

It is hoped to issue annually one number of the Series. The cost of each number will, it is anticipated, be about £250. To ensure a continuity of publication, it is necessary to form a Permanent Capital Fund, and this the Society of Cymmrodorion have resolved to do. This Fund, of which Sir John Williams, Bart., Sir W. Thomas Lewis, Bart., and Mr. Henry Owen, F.S.A., are the Trustees, will be under the control of the Council, but will be kept separate from the general fund of the Society. It will be applicable solely to the purposes herein designated, and an account of receipts and payments will be submitted to each contributor.

Towards the expenses of publication the Council have found themselves in a position to set aside, from time to time, from the Society's General Fund the sum of £150, a contribution which they trust a large accession of members to the ranks of the Society will speedily enable them to augment.

The Council confidently appeal to all Welshmen for sympathy and help in this really national enterprise. Welshmen are proverbially proud of the antiquities of their land. To place the record of these antiquities within the reach of every Welsh student in an accurate and intelligible form, and to enable him to understand the growth of the national and individual life, is a work which should unite all Welshmen for the benefit of their countrymen, and for the honour of Wales.

BUTE, *President.*
E. VINCENT EVANS, *Secretary.*

CYMMRODORION LIBRARY,
64, CHANCERY LANE, LONDON, W.C.

***** Cheques may be sent to E. VINCENT EVANS, Secretary to the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion, 64, Chancery Lane, W.C., crossed "London Joint Stock Bank, Limited, to the credit of the Cymmrodorion Record Series Fund."**

Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion,

FOR THE ENCOURAGEMENT OF

Literature, Science, and Art as connected with Wales.

FOUNDED 1751. REVIVED 1873.

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E. VINCENT EVANS.

The

Transactions

of the Honourable

Society of Cymmrodorion.

SESSION 1898-99.

LONDON:
ISSUED BY THE SOCIETY,
NEW STONE BUILDINGS, 64, CHANCERY LANE.
1900.

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Chairman of the Council:—Mr. Stephen Evans, J.P.
Treasurer:—Mr. H. Lloyd Roberts.
Secretary:—Mr. E. Vincent Evans.

THE HONOURABLE SOCIETY OF CYMMRODORION, originally founded under Royal patronage in 1751, was revived in 1873, with the object of bringing into closer contact Welshmen, particularly those resident out of Wales, who are anxious to advance the welfare of their country; and of enabling them to unite their efforts for that purpose. Its especial aims are the improvement of Education, and the promotion of intellectual culture by the encouragement of Literature, Science, and Art, as connected with Wales.

Subscription to the Society, entitling to copies of all its publications, and admission to all meetings:—One Guinea per annum.

Application for membership should be addressed to the Secretary, E. Vincent Evans, New Stone Buildings, 64, Chancery Lane, London, W.C.

LIST OF PUBLICATIONS.

Y Cymmrodor, Vols. ii, iv, v, vi, vii, viii, ix, x, xi, xii, and xiii (commencing New Series). 10*s.* 6*d.* per volume. [Vols. i and iii are out of print.]

The History of the Cymmrodorion. Out of print.

A Dictionary in Englyshe and Welshe, by Wyllyam Salesbury (1547). Facsimile, black letter. 4 parts, 2*s.* 6*d.* each.

The Gododin of Aneurin Gwawdrydd, by Thomas Stephens, Author of *The Literature of the Kymry.* 6 parts, 2*s.* 6*d.* each.

An Essay on Pennillion Singing (Hanes ac Henafiaeth Canu Gyda'r Tannau), by J. Jones (*Idris Vychan*). 1 part, 2*s.* 6*d.*

Ystorya de Carolo Magno (from the "Red Book of Hergest"). 1 part, 2*s.* 6*d.*

Athravaeth Gristnogavl (from the unique copy belonging to the late Prince Louis Lucien Bonaparte, originally printed at Milan, A.D. 1568). 1 part, 2*s.* 6*d.*

The Blessednes of Brytaine, by Maurice Kyffin (1587). 1 part, 1*s.* 6*d.*

Gerald the Welshman, by Henry Owen, B.C.L. Oxon., F.S.A. Demy 8vo., vellum cloth, gilt, 10*s.*

Gweithiau Iolo Goch: Gyda Nodiadau Hanesyddol a Beirniadol, gan Charles Ashton. The Works of Iolo Goch. Price 10*s.* 6*d.*

The Transactions of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion (Sessions, 1892-93, 1893-94, 1894-95, 1895-96, 1896-97, 1897-98, 1898-99).

IN THE CYMMRODORION RECORD SERIES.

The Description of Pembrokeshire, by George Owen of Henllys. Edited by Henry Owen, B.C.L. Oxon., F.S.A. Being No. 1 of the *Cymmrodorion Record Series.* 2 parts, 21*s.* Issued free to Members of the Society, by the Editor.

The Court Rolls of the Lordship of Ruthin or Dyffryn-Clwyd, of the Reign of King Edward the First, preserved in the Public Record Office. Edited, with Translations, Notes, etc., by R. Arthur Roberts, of H.M. Public Record Office. Being No. 2 of the *Cymmrodorion Record Series.* Price 21*s.* Issued free to Members of the Society.

Gildae de Excidio Britanniae, Liber de Paenitentia, accedit et Lorica Gildae. (Gildas: the Ruin of Britain, Fragments from Lost Letters, the Penitential, together with the Lorica of Gildas.) Part I. Edited by Hugh Williams, M.A., Professor of Church History at the Theological College, Bala. Being No. 3 of the *Cymmrodorion Record Series.* In Three Parts. Price, 21*s.*; to Members of the Society, 10*s.* 6*d.*

A Catalogue of the Manuscripts relating to Wales in the British Museum. Part I. Compiled and Edited by Edward Owen, of Gray's Inn, Barrister-at-Law. Being No. 4 of the *Cymmrodorion Record Series.* Price 21*s.* Issued free upon application to Members of the Society.

To be obtained on application to the Secretary, at the Cymmrodorion Library, 64, Chancery Lane, London, W.C.

THE

TRANSACTIONS

OF

THE HONOURABLE

SOCIETY OF CYMMRODORION.

SESSION 1898–99.

LONDON:

ISSUED BY THE SOCIETY,

NEW STONE BUILDINGS, 64, CHANCERY LANE.

1900.

DEVIZES:
PRINTED BY GEORGE SIMPSON.

CONTENTS.

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL for 1898-9 v

STATEMENT OF RECEIPTS AND PAYMENTS for 1898-9 ... x

Early Fortifications in Wales. By the REV. S. BARING-GOULD, M.A. 1

Early Social Life in Wales. By DAVID BRYNMÔR JONES, Q.C., M.P. 25

Geoffrey of Monmouth. By Professor W. LEWIS JONES, M.A. 52

Argraphwyr, Cyhoeddwyr, a Llyfrwerthwyr Cymru. Gan ISAAC FOULKES *(Llyfrbryf)* 96

REPORT

OF

THE COUNCIL OF THE

Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion,

For the Year ending November 9th, 1899.

PRESENTED TO THE ANNUAL MEETING, HELD ON THURSDAY, 30TH OF NOVEMBER, 1899.

THE Council have pleasure in reporting that 36 new members were added to the Society during the past year, but the number of vacancies caused by death has during the same period been very considerable. Amongst other losses, the Society has to deplore that of two of its Vice-Presidents. In the death of Mr. Thomas Ellis, late Member of Parliament for Merioneth, Wales lost one of her most ardent and devoted sons, and the Society of Cymmrodorion one who took a keen and active personal interest in its efforts for the encouragement of the study of the history and literature of his native country. The late Bishop Lloyd was a faithful supporter of the Society, and rendered to it valuable service, especially in connection with the Cymmrodorion Section of the National Eisteddfod. Within the last few days the Society has lost a distinguished and zealous member in the person of Dr. Henry Hicks, past President of the Geological Society.

During the year the following meetings were held in London:—

1898.

November 17.—ANNUAL MEETING OF THE MEMBERS.

November 28.—ANNUAL DINNER, held at the Hotel Métropole. President, the Right Hon. Lord Kenyon.

December 19.—Addresses on "The Development of Welsh Industries," by Lady Eva Wyndham-Quin, Mrs. Brynmôr Jones, Lord Justice Vaughan-Williams, Lord Aberdare and Mr. Marchant Williams (in connection with the *Welsh Industries Association*).

1899.

January 26.—Paper on "Stone Fortifications in Wales and Elsewhere," by the Rev. S. Baring-Gould, M.A.

February 23.—Paper on "Early Social Life in Wales," by Mr. Brynmôr Jones, Q.C., M.P.

March 8.—Paper on "Geoffrey of Monmouth," by Professor W. Lewis Jones, M.A.

April 19.—Paper on "Hen Argraphwyr Cymru," by Mr. Isaac Foulkes *(Llyfrbryf)*.

In Wales:—

In the Town Hall at Cardiff, in connection with the National Eisteddfod of 1899 and under the Presidency of Sir Thomas Morel, Mayor of Cardiff, a Meeting was held on the 17th of July to discuss the subject of "Technical Education in Wales," when papers were read by Mr. W. Edwards, H.M. Inspector of Schools, Merthyr-Tydfil; Mr. R. E. Hughes, H.M. Inspector of Schools, Swansea; Mr. D. E. Jones, Inspector of Schools under the Science and Art Department; and Mr. Wm. Lewis, Headmaster of the Intermediate School, Llanelly.

The arrangements for the coming Session include Papers by Principal Rhys, LL.D., on "Some Aspects of Welsh Folk Lore"; Professor J. E. Lloyd, M.A., on "Wales and the Norman Conquest"; and the Rev. W. H. Williams (*Watcyn Wyn*), on "Pennillion and Pennillion Singing".

Having regard to the state of the country owing to the War in South Africa, the Council have decided not to hold the Annual Dinner this year.

During the year the following Publications have been issued to members, viz.—

1. The *Transactions* for the Session, 1897-98, containing the following papers :—"Early Welsh Bibliography," by Mr. J. H. Davies, M.A. (with facsimile Illustrations); "John Wilkinson and the Old Bersham Ironworks," by Mr. Alfred N. Palmer (with Illustrations); "Welsh Folk Music," by Miss Mary Owen (Mrs. Ellis J. Griffith); and "The Character of the Heresy of the Early British Church," by Mr. F. C. Conybeare, M.A.
2. Part i of *The Writings of Gildas;* being No. 3 of the Cymmrodorion Record Series, edited by the Rev. Professor Hugh Williams, of the Theological College, Bala, containing a portion of the "Excidio Britanniæ" (from Mommsen's Text) and a Translation thereof.

In addition there is—

Ready for immediate issue :—

The *Transactions* for the Session 1898-99, containing papers by the Rev. S. Baring Gould, Mr. Brynmôr Jones, Q.C., M.P., Professor W. Lewis Jones and Mr. Isaac Foulkes.

Y *Cymmrodor*, Vol. XIII, containing an important contribution to Welsh Bibliography by Mr. John Ballinger of Cardiff; a much required Collation of the *Cambro-British Saints* by Professor Kuno Meyer; Further Notes on the Court of the President and Council of Wales and the Marches, with original documents from the Record Office, edited by Mr. D. Lleufer Thomas; and a note on the Jesus College *Peithynen*, by Professor Rhys.

Part i of *A Catalogue of Manuscripts relating to Wales at the British Museum*, being No. 4 of the Cymmrodorion Record Series, edited by Mr. Edward Owen.

In the Press :—

The Black Book of St. David's, Part ii of *The Writings of Gildas*, and the Continuation of the *Catalogue of Manuscripts*.

It is needful to remind the Members of the Society that the expense of producing the new edition of *Gildas*, the

Catalogue of Welsh Manuscripts, and the *Black Book of St. David's* is being borne by the Cymmrodorion Record Series Fund. The Council, in the exercise of its discretion, has resolved that the *Catalogue of Manuscripts* shall be issued free to members upon application, and that the edition of *Gildas*, which will be in three parts, shall be supplied to them for an advance payment of 10*s*. 6*d*. for the whole work. Arrangements have been made with Mr. D. Nutt for the publication and sale of the work to non-members at One Guinea.

For the next number of the Record Series the Council have entered into an arrangement with Professor W. Lewis Jones, of the University College of North Wales, to bring out a new edition of the writings of Geoffrey of Monmouth, with a Translation and Critical Notes.

It is also in contemplation to obtain a complete transcript of the correspondence of the three Morrises (Lewis, Richard, and William Morris) now in the British Museum, with a view to future publication.

Furthermore the Council hope to avail themselves of the offer of Mr. John Ballinger to edit, for *Y Cymmrodor*, Sir Richard Colt Hoare's Transcript of so much of Leland's *Itinerary* as relates to Wales.

The Council desire to record their thanks to the Worshipful Company of Merchant Taylors for the use of their Hall for the Annual Conversazione and for a donation to the funds of the Society.

The following presents received for the Library were duly acknowledged, viz.—

By-gones, presented by Messrs. Woodall, Minshall and Co.

The Journal of the University of Upsala, presented by the University.

The Calendar of the University of North Wales, presented by Professor Lloyd.

Under the Society's Rules the terms of office of the following Officers expire, viz. :—

THE PRESIDENT,
THE VICE-PRESIDENTS,
THE AUDITORS,

and 10 members retire in accordance with Rule 4, viz. :—

Mr. STEPHEN EVANS.
„ ALFRED DANIELL.
„ J. H. DAVIES.
„ W. CADWALADR DAVIES.
„ W. E. DAVIES.
„ E. VINCENT EVANS.
„ WILLIAM EVANS.
„ ELLIS J. GRIFFITH, M.P.
„ W. TUDOR HOWELL, M.P.
„ T. H. W. IDRIS.

The Financial Statement for the year is appended to this Report.

THE HONOURABLE SOCIETY OF CYMMRODORION.

Statement of Receipts and Payments.

FROM 9TH NOVEMBER, 1898, TO 9TH NOVEMBER, 1899.

Cr.

	£	s.	d.
To Balance in hand, November 9th, 1898 ..	146	14	1
„ Subscriptions received	369	8	9
„ Sale of Publications	10	6	9
	£526	9	7

Dr.

	£	s.	d.
By Rent of Office, Hire of Lecture Room, Electric Light, &c. ..	77	4	2
„ Publications: cost of Printing and Distributing	98	14	3
„ General Printing	29	7	5
„ Eisteddfod Section: Expenses (2 years)	15	10	6
„ Lectures, Meetings, and Conversazione	58	14	6
„ Library Expenses, Books, &c. ..	1	18	0
„ Stationery, Postage, Removal and General Expenses	44	12	2
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TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion.

SESSION 1898-99.

EARLY FORTIFICATIONS IN WALES.[1]

BY

THE REV. S. BARING-GOULD, M.A.

A FEATURE of no ordinary interest, alike in Wales, Cornwall, and Devon, in Scotland and Ireland, is the stone castles, fortresses constructed of stone uncut and not set in mortar, that are there found, and that, in common, possess characteristics seemingly indicating that they were the work of one people.

It is, of course, possible, that various peoples at very different periods may have constructed defences of a similar description, and we must not hastily conclude a common origin when we find that these fortresses have features of great similarity. Nothing but pick and spade can settle the question as to the epoch at which they were erected, and even that will not tell us who were the people who constructed them.

[1] Read before the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion at 20, Hanover Square, on Thursday, the 26th of January, 1899; Chairman, Mr. Edward Laws, F.S.A.

The camps that are everywhere so numerous in England, Scotland, Ireland, and Wales demand a much closer scrutiny than has been accorded to them hitherto.

Those in Scotland have, indeed, been taken in hand in a manner truly scientific, and that quite recently, by Mr. Christison; but he has not been able to do more than record the situations and their shapes and characteristics; he has not been able to excavate them; and till this has been done, these interesting monuments of a remote past remain mysterious, they have not yielded up the secret of their origin.

However, the work accomplished by him has been most valuable. The forts have been catalogued, classified, and planned. This, in itself, is an achievement, the more important as these earthworks are being gradually destroyed by the plougher and the quarryman.

It may be said—Why re-plan when the Ordnance Survey has been made, and we have on the sheets issued by the Survey all that we require? But, unfortunately, the Government did not employ the men most qualified to plan antiquities, and my own experience assures me that in a number of instances the plans given on the 6in. and 26in. scales are not altogether to be trusted. Camps of great importance are incompletely given, and some are inaccurately recorded. This likewise has been Mr. Christison's experience in Scotland. He says:—"Unfortunately, in the occasional unreliability of the plans themselves, I soon discovered that while some left nothing to be desired in point of accuracy and fulness of detail, as far as the smallness of the scale permitted, others were evidently either defective or erroneous, while in not a few instances I found only "*site of a fort*" marked, where the remains were quite as substantial as in cases in which plans were given.

"This inequality in the work was due to the abandonment of the original design to combine a special archæological survey, by enlisting the aid of experts, with the general one of the country—a combination actually started in Ireland, but relinquished almost at once. . . . . It was also unfortunate that the routine of the service removed officers who, by the interest they felt in the work and by practice, had attained special skill in planning these remains, to make room for novices who had no sooner gone through the same apprenticeship, than they also had to go."

But this is not all. The original maps, as drawn by the surveyors, would perhaps shew a much better plan than has been actually published. This is due to the drawings having been gone over by officers after the plans had been made, who struck out a quantity of detail as unimportant, because they themselves were indifferent to matters of archæological interest.

I had an opportunity of seeing some of these original drawings with reference to remains of considerable value from an antiquarian point of view, which I asked the Ordnance officer to insert in a new edition. The officer most readily and graciously sent down a surveyor to plan what was desired, when to our mutual surprise we found that this had been done with conscientious accuracy on the occasion of the survey, but had been subsequently cut out by the revisers.

The result of this unfortunate condition of affairs is that the planning of the fortified strongholds, which might have been well done at the outset, has now to be undertaken again; and that, unhappily, it is never quite safe to trust the Ordnance Survey where it indicates the presence of a camp, but each must be separately visited, and investigated, to ascertain whether planned correctly, or

whether incompletely mapped. I may notice a very important camp, or pair of camps, in my own immediate neighbourhood, the site, as I hold, of the great battle of Gavulford, fought between the Britons and Saxons in 823. It is on the side of the highway from Okehampton to Launceston. Here some of the most characteristic features are entirely omitted. But let us now address ourselves to the different kinds of fortifications of an early date to be found in Scotland, Ireland, Wales, and Cornwall and Devon.

1.—There are the camps that are rectangular, or approximately so, and which have been attributed to the Romans. These shall not detain us.

2.—There are those which consist of a tump or mound, sometimes wholly artificial, usually natural, and adapted by art, and in connection with this is a base-court, quadrilateral usually, but not so invariably. This was the Saxon type—possibly also that of the Northmen. The Normans adopted it from the Merovingians, whose type was identical with that of the Saxons. The classic passage descriptive of these is in the life of St. John of Terouanne, by Colmieu, in the eleventh century, which though often quoted, I will venture to quote again.

"It was customary for the rich men and nobles of these parts, because their chief occupation is the carrying on of feuds, in order that they may be safe from their enemies, and may have greater power for either conquering their equals, or oppressing their inferiors, to heap up a mound of earth as high as they are able, and to dig round it a broad, open, and deep ditch, and to girdle the whole upper edge of the mound, instead of a wall, with a barrier of wooden planks, stoutly fastened together, and set round with numerous turrets. Within was constructed a house, or rather a citadel, commanding the whole, so that the

gate of entry could alone be approached by means of a bridge, which, springing from the counterscarp of the ditch, was gradually raised as it advanced, supported by sets of piers, two, or even three, trussed on each side over convenient spans, crossing the ditch with a managed ascent, so as to reach the upper level of the mound, landing on its edge on a level at the threshold of the gate."

A very good idea of such a camp and fort may be derived from the representation of the fortifications of Dinan in the Bayeux tapestry.

In France the *mottes* abound on which the wooden donjons of the Merovingian chiefs were planted about; but in many cases the rampart of the base-court has disappeared. In Wales there are numerous *motes*. A capital example, with its base-court, is near St. David's, above the Alun ravine, opposite the mill. This has been planned for the *Archæologia Cambrensis*. The general opinion, which I do not share, is that the *mote* is of a different age, and is of a different character from the rudely quadrilateral camp. I hold that in this we have a typical fortification of the Saxon, perhaps also Danish, period and mode of construction.

In England there are many examples, as Plympton in Devon, Launceston Castle, Windsor, Norwich and Ely. In Ireland they are also found in large numbers; so also in Scotland. All apparently belong to the same period, and all are probably the work of Danish and Saxon invaders.

In Ireland they are called *motes*; not so in England, where they are termed *burhs*. Of those in Ireland, Thomas Wright, in the first half of last century, says, that "mounds simple, or trenched, or with base-courts, are common all along the English Pale, and even as far as the N.E. sea, but chiefly near the N.E. coast."[1]

[1] *Louthiana*, 1748.

In Scotland they are very unequally distributed. In the Highlands they may be said not to exist at all. With the exception of a few by the Firth of Tay, there are none so far north as Edinburgh, whereas they abound in the Western Lowlands, especially in Kirkcudbright.

I will not detain you longer over these, but pass on at once to the next classes.

3.—This—a common type of castle—consists of oval or circular spaces enclosed within one or more concentric rings of banks and ditches. Of these there are very fine examples to be seen in Cornwall, in Ireland, and in Scotland. There is, however, a variant—where a headland is fortified. Here two or more lines of mound and ditch were drawn across the neck of land. These camps or castles are usually supposed, I think reasonably, to be Celtic.

Let us now see what information concerning them we can obtain from early Irish authorities.

The terms employed in Ireland for camps are: *rath, lis, dun, cathair, caisel.*

The *rath* is thus described by Mr. Eugene O'Curry[1]:—"It was a simple circular wall or enclosure of raised earth, enclosing a space of more or less extent, in which stood the residence of the chief and sometimes the dwellings of one or more of the officers or chief men of the tribe or court. Sometimes, also, the *rath* consisted of two or three concentric walls or circumvallations; but it does not appear that the erection so called was ever intended to be surrounded with water."

The word *ráith* or *rath* has various meanings. It is employed of a stronghold, also of a guarantor, or surety, but as well of wages or subsidy. The word has been recognised on the inscribed Gaulish stone near Poitiers.

[1] *Manners and Customs of the Ancient Irish*, 1873, iii, p. 3.

It is employed in Wales over a limited area, in Pembroke only, where seventeen forts are called *raiths*.[1] In Scotland it is uncommon. It occurs possibly in East Anglia; not other than doubtfully in Cornwall and in Devon.

The *rath* had sometimes an outer enclosure in which cattle could be impounded for security at night, and this was called in Ireland an *airlis*. *Rath* may perhaps be taken as a generic name for fort. Of forts there were two kinds among the Gadhaels:—the *lis* and the *dun*.

The *lis* was the fort or homestead of a *flath* or noble. But the term in Brittany signified rather a Court in which justice was administered. The *flath* in Ireland corresponded to the *arglwydd* in Wales and the *hlafford* or *eorl* of the Anglo-Saxons. Every *flath* had his *lis*, and as therein he administered justice, the secondary meaning employed in Brittany arose, just as court in English comes from cases being heard in the *curia*, or courtyard, of the lord or prince.[2]

We must expect to find a *lis* in every district over which, in Celtic times, an *arglwydd* or chieftain held jurisdiction.

In Ireland there are no fewer than 1,400 towns and villages that begin with *lis*; there are many others into

[1] The term *rath* as applied to earthen camps is confined to the hundred of Roose and a part of that of Dau-gleddyf. In Glamorganshire the name occurs in one instance only. Roath, a district in Cardiff, may derive from *rath*.

[2] This is a late meaning: for in early Celtic times there was no executive. A Brehon established the amount of *eric* or fine legally due for a *tort*, but there was no administration of justice. Every man had to take the law into his own hands. It was so in Ireland. It was so in Wales, but it is possible that at the late period in which Brittany was colonised, some idea of the Roman administration of Justice may have been entertained and admitted by the chiefs.

the names of which *lis* enters in composition; but in some instances it is a corruption of *eaglais*, the Gaelic form of *ecclesià*. In Scotland, *lis* means any enclosure—as a garden or park. In Wales *lis* occurs frequently, as in such names as Lisburne, Llysfaen, Llysmeirchion.

It occurs also frequently in Cornwall, as Liskeard, Lesnewth, Listewdrig, Lescaddock, Lescawn, Lesmanech, Lestormel, now corrupted into Restormel.

It has been suggested that the Court-leet is a compound word of which *leet* stands for the Celtic *lis*. In the Laws of Howel Dda *llys* is employed in conjunction as descriptive of the principal or royal court, as that of a *cwmmwd*, and as an extraordinary court appointed by the King to hear and decide in actions at law, which the ordinary judges could not determine.

But this is a comparatively modern employment of the word, precisely similar to that now given to *court*. For in Wales, as in Ireland, certainly the original system was for each man to take reprisals when injured. The Brehon was not a judge, but an hereditary depository of the law of fines, who declared what was the *eric* or fine due for every *tort*. But there was no executive. The aggrieved had to enforce the fines as best he could. It was comparatively late that the administration of justice was taken in hand by the chiefs and kings.

Lis is found also in English counties, but there we can not be so sure of the Celtic origin of the name.

In Ireland *les* retained its primary meaning as an enclosure, and is equivalent to the Norse *garð*.

In the *Life of S. Carthagh*, or Mochuda, it is said that when he was driven out of Rathin, in King's County, he came to the King of the Deisé, who granted him a plot of land; whereupon Carthagh began to throw up a circular enclosure of earth. A woman, seeing a crowd of monks

thus engaged, went up to them and asked what they were doing. "We are setting up here a small lis," was the reply. "Lis beg! (a small lis)" exclaimed the woman, "it seems to me that this is like to be a lis mór (a big lis)." And ever since this foundation of Carthagh has borne the name of Lismore. Also, in the old Brehon laws, *lis* or *les* is employed as an enclosure, such as the outer yard to a mansion. A woman against whom her husband had published a lampoon was entitled to demand of him in reparation the full amount of her *coibch*, or bridal-gift, outside the *léss*, and the full amount of his *eric*, or fine, for wrong done within the enclosure. I think we may take *lis* to be precisely the equivalent of the base Latin *curtis* or *curia*, having several significations.

In Ireland every King *Rig* had a *dun*. This was no more than an enlarged *lis*, with an outer court in which could be kept the *giall*, or hostages; for the law required this. "He is not a king who has not hostages within bars."

Thus, every kingdom had in it a *dun*, in Welsh *din*; and *dinas* is another form for the name of the Royal residence.

A gloss to an old Irish law tract defines a *dun* as "two walls with water." But I do not suppose that it was essential that the ditches should contain water, or that the banks should be surmounted by walls. The gloss was written after the Norman invasion, and after the custom of moated and walled castles in the Norman fashion had prevailed.

Dun in Scotland signifies a fort; but according to the Gaelic dictionaries it is "a heap or mound" of any kind. Even a dunghill is a *dun*.[1] Consequently we find *duns*,

[1] *Christison*, p. 301.

not in Scotland only but in Cornwall and Devon as hills, where there were no forts. Indeed in *dunes*, the French word, we have it applied to the sandbanks on the sea coast; in Cornish *towan*.

That the term *dun* was applied to fortified places of old by the Celts everywhere would appear from the way in which it enters into the composition of so many British and Gaulish place-names that come to us in Latin form, Cambodunum, Camalodunum, Maridunum; in Gaul, Uxellodunum, Verodunum, Lugdunum, Cæsarodunum.

Dun so much resembles the Anglo-Saxon *tun*, that undoubtedly many place-names in England, which were *duns*, have been converted into towns: just as *duns*, which are hills, have been rendered Downs.

Dinas is but another form of *dun*. In Cornwall we find both employed, as Pendinas, Dinas Geraint, and Dun-dagil, Dunheved, Dunvean.

The *dun* is the same as the Gaulish *oppidum*, the centre of a *pagus*. The Romans employed the word *pagus* to express territorial sub-division of a territory. *Oppida* were elevated places of refuge to which the people belonging to a district fled for protection in the event of hostile invasion.

There would be not merely the royal *dun*, but also others throughout a district occupied by a Tribe; all of these undoubtedly so placed as to be able by signal to communicate with one another.

According to Irish law the *dun* of a king was surrounded by a second rampart called the *drecht gialnai*, or dyke of the hostages. This second rampart was intended for keeping within the fort, under watch and ward, those pledges of allegiance, without which a *Rig Rurech* was not considered to be a true king.[1] The *Rig Tuatha*, or under

[1] W. K. Sullivan, in Introduction to O'Curry, *Manners and Customs of the Ancient Irish*, I, ccxxxviii.

king, did not require such an addition to his *dun*, as he did not possess the right of keeping hostages under his ward.

Within the *dun* were numerous structures of timber. In the Rath-na-Righ at Tara stood the House of the Thousand Soldiers, and the Banqueting Hall. In the story of Branwen, in the *Mabinogion*, in the *dun* of Matholwch was a great hall with a hundred pillars on each side. The Irish *duns* seem also to have had a *grianan* or look-out.

The Irish heroic tales give such extravagant pictures of the royal buildings within the *duns* that no reliance can be placed on them. The utmost that can be concluded from them is that the structures were of deal, roofed with oak shingles, and with ornamental carved work cut in yew, and that some of the habitations within the enclosure of the *dun* were of wicker work, with conical roofs, and that they were thatched with rushes.

Very frequently use was made of a headland in part surrounded by the sea, or a loop of a river; and the steep scarp on some of the sides rendered complete circumvallation unnecessary. Of these there are numerous examples in Wales and in Cornwall. I will instance one—a fine one near Porth Rhaw—between Solva and St. David's. This is being fast consumed by the sea, but there still remain imposing banks on the land side, and there were till recently traces of hut-circles within it.

Around the royal *dun* lived his retainers, the *sencleithes* who were landless, and were comprised of such as were descended from strangers whom the king had taken under his protection, prisoners of war, and such as had fled to him for sanctuary.

Every king had his lawn about the *dun*. The extent of sanctuary was decreed by law. Every freeman, or *aire*, had a right to accord sanctuary. The limit was determined by the throwing of the *cnairseach*, either a hammer, or a coulter,

or a wand. The lowest grade of *flath*, or noble, could extend sanctuary to within three throws from his door. Each grade of nobility above had double the extent of sanctuary to that below, up to the *Rig*, or King, whose sanctuary extended to the distance of sixty-four throws.

The sanctuary of a saint was a thousand paces; that of a bishop, two thousand.

4.—I come now to the stone fortresses that are found along the West Coast of England and Wales, that are also found in Scotland, and Ireland. Those in Ireland are usually called *caisels* or *cashels*. In Wales there are many. I need only mention a few, Tre'rceiri, Carn Ingli, Tregarn, Carn Gôch, Carn Vawr, and St. David's Head. In Somersetshire there are Whorlebury and Stokeley Camps. In Devon, White Tor and Cranbrook. In Cornwall, the Cheesewring, Carnbrea, Tregonning camp, Chûn castle, and Castel-an-Dinas.

The account given of Castel-an-Dinas, before it was robbed for the erection of a tower, is precisely such as might be given of any of these others. "It consisted of two stone walls, one within the other in a circular form, surrounding the area of the hill. The ruins are now fallen on each side of the walls, and show the work to have been of great height and thickness. There was also a third or outer wall built more than half way round. Within these walls are many little enclosures of a circular form, about seven yards diameter, with little walls round them of two or three feet high: they appear to have been so many huts for the shelter of the garrison."[1]

In Scotland there are, Harefaulds in Lauderdale, Dreva in Peebles, Castle Law in Perthshire, Arbory in Clydesdale, and others.

[1] Cotton, W. "Account of certain Hill Castles near the Lands End," *Archæologia*, xxii.

In Ireland they are chiefly found on the West Coast, and the finest examples are in the Aran Isles. The most perfect are Staigue Fort in Kerry (the *dun* at Ballymabuyht, also in Kerry), the stupendous series in Aran, and Dunbeg in Sligo. These have been photographed and illustrated in the late Earl of Dunraven's admirable *Notes on Irish Architecture*, 1875, but the planning has been very inadequately done, and no excavations have been made to determine their period.

These caers are oval or round, or approximately so, and consist of concentric rings of walls. Within, a platform usually runs round the inner wall of the castle, reached by steps, to enable the defenders to hurl stones, and shoot their arrows at their assailants.

These camps have sometimes obstacles placed outside the walls, consisting of upright stones set sufficiently close together to break up an attacking force. In Dun Aengus, for instance, "a few yards in advance of the wall is placed a belt 60 to 80 ft. broad, composed of long narrow stones set on end, and sloping irregularly outwards, and placed at irregular distances, but with about room for a man to pass between them. This labyrinth of stones is evidently intended, like the *chevaux de frise* of a modern fortification, to retard the approach of an assailant; and to scatter and expose to the weapons of the garrison any body of men who might have crossed the exterior wall."

Precisely similar obstacles have been observed in the stone forts in Anglesea and at Caer Helen, in Carnarvonshire.[1]

The walls of these Irish castles were constructed usually of two faces of large stones with rubble between; sometimes, however, of three sets of walls built one against

[1] *Archæolog. Journal*, vol. xxv, p. 228.

another, and not tied into one another. The stones of the walls are, usually, however, end on, that their length in the wall might serve as a bind; but this is not always the case, they are also built with them laid horizontally, their full length exposed.

Nearly all these *cashels* have or have had hut circles within their enclosures. In them mortar has never been employed. The Welsh examples, and those in Scotland and Cornwall, present precisely similar features.

There is yet another word for a camp employed in all Celtic countries, *cathair* in Irish, *caer* in Welsh. In Ireland the *cathair* signifies a circular stone fort. Another word, *car*, *carig*, rock, enters into place-names. We cannot always be sure whether the name of a locality beginning with *car* derives from a rock or a castle. The derivation of *cathair* seems to be from *cath*, the Welsh *cad*, battle. It enters into many names in composition; with the sense of strong. *Cathair* came to be used of a city, of a stronghold, that is, a place which could withstand assault. *Caer* you have in Caerleon, Caer Wrangon, Caer Gawch; in Cornwall in Caer Bran, Caer Kieff, Caer Gonin, Carhayes.

In the vast majority of cases the walls are in complete ruins, so complete that it is often doubtful at first sight whether they ever were upright and faced; and the condition in which we find them seems quite inexplicable, so complete is the ruin.

After having seen several of the old Gaulish *oppida*, I have cause to suspect that the same cause that has ruined them may have been the occasion of the ruin with us. The walls of these *oppida* were composed of stones placed in courses, rudely, without mortar, and tied together by means of beams of oak which ran through the walls, and also sometimes were placed in the walls horizontally in

the same face with the stone-work, but with beams mortised into them at right angles running through the thickness of the wall. The object of this timber work was to compact the whole together.

Now, although this woodwork was eminently useful for awhile, no sooner did decay set in than it precipitated the destruction of the walls; they went to pieces and fell in heaps in utter confusion. I have examined the great mounds of fallen limestones of Murcens and Puy d'Issola, and can explain their present condition in no other way.

Where, as in the Aran Isles and at Tre'rceiri, we find the walls fairly perfect, it is in those localities where no timber was to be had, and therefore the walls had to be constructed solely of stone.

This employment of beams in the wall may have given occasion to the vitrifying of some forts. In one at Gueret in Creuse the vitrification has been carried through channels in the stone work, just such as might have been formed by beams. Where there is limestone, of course fire does not vitrify. Perhaps accident in a granite fort led to the discovery of the advantage of vitrification, and the woodwork that was in the wall materially assisted in the work of carrying on the heat and dissolving the stone.

That the walls were faced, we know for certain, for under the great débris at Tregarn and St. David's Head the pick reveals the face distinctly above the original base.

When we come to the question as to who were the first *caer* or *cashel* builders, we find it difficult to give an answer.

We do not know, for instance, in Gaul, whether the Celts on arriving borrowed this mode of construction from the aboriginal inhabitants, the men of the rude stone monuments, or whether they discovered it themselves. In Ireland there is no hesitation among the old authors

in attributing the stone *cathair* to the primitive population that was subdued by the Gadhaels. All the great stone forts, with one exception, are by them referred to the Firbolgs, or Tuatha de Danann, another branch of the same Nemidian race.

Lord Dunraven says:—"The legends of these early builders are preserved in the compilations of Irish scribes and bardic writers dating from the twelfth to the fifteenth centuries. The story, which is said by these writers to have been handed down orally during the earliest centuries of the Christian era, and committed to writing when that art first became known in Ireland, is the history of the wanderings and final destruction of a hunted and persecuted race, whose fate would seem to have been mournful and strange as the ruined fortresses of the last tribe which now stand before us. Coming to Ireland through Britain, they seem to have been long beaten hither and thither, till, flying still westward, they were protected by Ailill and Maeve, who are said to have reigned in Connaught about the first century of the Christian era. From these monarchs they obtained a grant of lands along the Western coast of Galway, as well as the Islands of Aran, where they remained till their final defeat. Thus their forms seem to pass across the deep abyss of time, like the white flakes of foam that are seen drifted by the worrying wind over the wild and wasted ruins of their fortresses."[1]

It is not possible to accept these tales as history. Nevertheless, there must be some ground for them, at least for the association of this subjugated people with the relics of stone forts that are found in the territory they once occupied.

[1] *Notes on Irish Architecture*, Dublin 1875-7.

And one reason why we cannot frankly accept them as historical is that the *cashels* themselves do not appear to be works that have been thrown up in haste, but rather laboriously undertaken, and intended to last for generations. There is no token of hurry in the builders. The stones used as headers are tilted downwards towards the face of the wall, a device adopted to keep the water out of the joints by letting the moisture drain off the surface. In many cases vertical jointings are observable in the walls, shewing that they were constructed in short lengths, each completed independently of the other, in, as the French would say, "parcs."

Now, although, as I have said, we cannot accept the legends connected with the Firbolgs flying for protection to Maeve, headed by their chieftain Aengus, nevertheless those mentioned in the legend are not wholly mythical personages.[1] A significant story is told in a poem by Flann of Monasterboyce, of the palace of Aileach near Loch Foyle, in Derry. It was constructed by Carrgenn, one of the Tuatha de Danann, at a remote period. But in the reign of Fiacha Sraibtiné, who was killed in A.D. 322, it was granted to Frigrinn, a young Scottish chief, who had eloped with the daughter of the King of Alba, brought her over to Erin, and put himself under the Irish King's protection. Within the old cashel Frigrinn built a magnificent palace—of timber of course. The term *Aileach*

[1] The legend is this. When Cairbre Niafer reigned in Leinster and Connor Mac Ness in Ulster, there was a migration of Firbolgs from Scotland, pressed from their residences there by the Picts. Cairbre Niafer gave them territory, but so oppressed them with tribute, that unable to endure it they sought the protection of Maeve and her husband, Ailill, in Connaught. She granted them the West coast in Mayo, Galway, and Clare, and the islands of Aran, where they fortified themselves.

itself implies "a stone structure", as *ail*, a stone, and *ach*, the common adjective termination.

Professor O'Curry says: "Without at all entering at present into any investigations of the long discussed question of the veracity of our ancient records and traditions, which declare that this island was occupied in succession by the Parthalonians, the Nemedians, the Firbolgs, the Tuatha da Danann, and finally by the Milesians or Scoti; it must strike every unprejudiced reader as a very remarkable fact, that the Scoti, who were the last colony, and consequently the historians of the country, should actually have recorded, by name and local position, several distinct monuments, still existing, of three out of the four peoples and races who are said to have occupied the country before themselves. And I cannot discover any sufficient reason why they should concede to their predecessors the credit of being the founders of Tara, the seat of monarchy, as well as of some others of the most remarkable and historic monuments of the whole country, unless they had been so."

An old Irish poem thus describes Tara, and shews at the same time the various uses of the terms for fort.

> "In the demesne of Tara . . .
> Seven *bailes* (townlands) and seven *lisses*,
> Seven *duns* in the *Dun* of Tara,
> Seven score houses in each *dun*,
> Seven hundred warriors in each *dun*."

According to early Irish authorities there were distinct classes of builders for *raths* and for *cashels*. The *rath* builder dealt with earth and palisading, the *cashel* builder with stone; and in the *Book of Leinster* are actually given the names of the great builders with stone, and those who built the *raths*, carefully distinguished the one from the other.

It is surely most probable that the art of building stone forts should belong to the dusky race that raised the rude stone monuments. If, as is now the received opinion, our Celtic ancestors migrated from the Alps, where they had lived on the *phalbaüten,* and had become extremely skilful artificers in wood and wicker work, then we may suspect that when these entered the British isles, they erected *raths* and *lises* and *duns* of earth and palisading, and that when they did erect stone fortresses, they employed for the purpose artificers of the conquered race, or else acquired the art from them.

The habitations within these forts are but hut circles, and the hut circle certainly goes back to the early bronze age, when flint weapons were still in use, and cairns were erected containing kistvaens and cromlechs.

Recently, one of these stone *caers* has been examined on the borders of Dartmoor. The exploration has shewn that it belonged to the period when bronze was extremely rare, and the weapons and tools employed were of flint. The pottery was all of the same period and type as that found in the barrows of the dawn of the bronze period, some two thousand years before the Christian era.

Carnbrea is another camp of the same description, in Cornwall. That, also, has been very exhaustively explored. It was a *caer* that must have been suddenly deserted, for in one hut-circle was found a heap of beautifully executed and unused flint tanged arrowheads among the chips where they had been fashioned, also a gabro celt. Although at Carnbrea there was evidence that the place had been —I can hardly say occupied, but visited at subsequent periods—a *denarius* of Vespasian was found—yet the vast bulk of remains belonged to the Neolithic or early bronze age.

During the summers of 1898 and 1899 Mr. R. Burnard

and myself made a very thorough exploration of the stone fortresses on St. David's Head and Moel Tregarn. Within the enclosure of the former are several hut circles, and these we cleared completely out. Some superficial work had been done there before by Mr. Fenton, and later by Mr. Freeman and Mr., afterwards Bishop, Basil Jones. We found where they had severally been at work. Here we did find some flint tools, a scraper, but the bulk of the find was of spindle whorls of stone, some ornamented, blue, white, and black glass beads of præ-Roman manufacture, or at all events of native make shewing no signs of Roman influence, a very little pottery, too little to form any conclusion from it, some iron articles deeply corroded with rust, and numerous perforated slate weights for weaving.

Here was a fort occupied perhaps over a thousand years later than those of Carnbrea and White Tor, and yet of much the same character, and containing hut circles of exactly similar description.

The noble fortress of Tregarn told precisely the same tale, save that there no trace of earlier occupation than the iron age could be found. St. David's Head, Carn Vawr, Carn Ingli, and Tregarn, form a chain of fortresses in communication the one with the other, all similar in character. Carn Vawr has been recently pillaged and almost destroyed by quarrymen from Fishguard.

I confess, to me it looks very much as if these fortresses had been erected by Irish Goidels, who had acquired from those whom they had subdued in Erin the art of raising stone castles, and stone claughans or bee-hive huts.

The great building race of the Firbolgs was not exterminated in pre-historic times. On the contrary, it continued to maintain an independent existence down to the sixth century, and was even then powerful. The

whole country of Hy-Many, in the present counties of Galway and Roscommon, was in the actual possession of the Firbolgs when, about that time, it was forcibly wrested from them by Maine Mor. There is a curious account of this conquest in the Life of St. Greallan, an abstract from which is published in the "Tribes and Customs of Hy-Many."[1]

But there can, I think, be no question but that the subjugated Firbolgs elsewhere had assisted in the formation of the religion, customs and political constitution of their conquerors. If we find in West Wales and in Brecknockshire remains of stone forts precisely similar, if not identical, in character with those attributed to the Firbolgs in Ireland, and these are traditionally associated with the Gwyddel invasions of Wales, we may suppose that the Irish Milesians, fused with the subjugated Firbolgs, had learned from them to construct these forts.

We cannot be sure: all this is matter of conjecture. And so it must remain till systematic exploration in Ireland, in Wales, in Cornwall, and in Scotland, has told us more of the builders. That the Irish invaders and conquerors in Britain did erect forts there we know from a passage in the *Glossary of Cormac*, who died in 903. He says, speaking of the period *circ.* 350-380, "At this time the power of the Gadhaels was great over the Britons. They had divided Albion among them into farms, and each of them had a neighbour and friend among the people"; and he goes on to say that they established fortresses throughout the land, and founded one at Glastonbury. "One of those divisions of land is Dun MacLiathan in the country

[1] *Irish Archæological Society*, 1843.

of the Britons of Cornwall."[1] I will now mention some of the peculiarities of these stone *caers*.

That of Tre'rceiri I have not seen, but I have gone over the wonderful Carn Gôch in Carmarthenshire, and I have closely studied both St. David's Head and Tregarn.

I have already alluded to the obstacles in the Irish *duns* and Welsh cliff castles. Mr. Christison describes very similar obstacles of planted stones at Cademuir fort, in Peebleshire, and Dreva in the same county.

Another method of forming obstacles was by spreading sheets of loose stones below the fort walls. These are artificially laid in several Scottish examples. At Whit Tor on Dartmoor, such a "clatter" of stones exists, mostly natural, but in part artificial. At Carn Gôch, the sides of the hill top are strewn with broken masses of stone, to all appearance purposely placed there, but having bare turf leading to the entrances, which entrances are otherwise defended. A second feature is the wall containing in it circular chambers, usually grouped in threes. This is said to occur at Tre'rceiri. But they are found likewise in Cornwall and Devon. I confess myself to doubt their being structural, at all events at Carn Gôch, and in the Devon and Cornwall examples close examination shows them to have been made by masons in search of big stones or by men digging out foxes.

At Carn Gôch is a huge cairn occupying the highest point within the enclosure. At Tregarn are three. These cairns are almost certainly not erected over the dead, and are in all probability stores of stone to be employed as projectiles, or for the repair of the wall.

[1] *Three Irish Glossaries*. Lond. 1862. MacLiathan took its name from the Hy Liathan, who occupied the territory afterwards forming the Barony of Barrymore in Cork. This gives us an indication of the region whence some of the Gywddel invaders came. Mommsen, in his edition of Nennius, says that MacLiathan was in South Wales.

At Whit Tor on Dartmoor there is a similar walled camp, and an outcrop of trap-rock has been utilised to build about it a huge cairn. But in the centre of the cairn is a round patch of turf or moss on the rock. This cairn has been thoroughly explored, and showed conclusively that it was not erected over the dead.

It has been noticed by me that in our Dartmoor, and in the Cornish instances of *caerau* of stone, there is often a chamber or hut-circle outside. And in the admirably preserved Fort of the Wolves, West of Dingle, in Kerry, there is actually such a chamber perfect in the thickness of the wall opening outside. It was probably a warder's box, but that the warder should be thus left outside is strange. In an ancient tale in the *Leabhar na h-Uidhre*, a MS. of the eleventh century, is mention of a watchman thus keeping guard outside, when a giant approaches and throws the watchman over the wall into the enclosure.

A good many chieftains in Ireland gave up their *cashels* or *duns* to the saints, and these converted them, without difficulty, into monasteries. Bede describes the *cashel* of St. Cuthbert at Lindisfarn thus:—"He had there, built for himself, with the assistance of the brethren, a small dwelling with a trench about it, and the necessary cells, and an oratory . . . where he had served God in solitude many years; the mound that encompassed his habitation being very high, he could see from thence nothing but heaven, to which he ardently aspired."[1] And again, "It was built of sods and stones so large that four men could hardly lift them, and it was nearly circular, and the wall inside was higher than outside."[2]

The Irish ecclesiastical *cashels* were always as nearly as might be 140 feet in diameter, in accordance with the

[1] *Hist. Eccl.*, cxxviii. [2] *Vit. S. Cuthberti*, c. xix.

measurement said to have been adopted by St. Patrick for the monasteries built under his direction at Ferta.

According to Miss Stokes, it is always easy for an experienced eye to distinguish between the ecclesiastical and the military *cashels* in Ireland.

Whether, in Wales, there were any conversions of stone forts into monastic settlements I do not know. In Cornwall there must have been something of this sort. St. Denys is a church planted in the midst of a *dinas*. When the church was re-consecrated by one of the mediæval bishops of Exeter, he dedicated it to St. Denys, through misconception of the original name, Landinas. At Hellborough, a stone caer near Camelford, is a chapel to St. Itha, the Bridget of Munster, on a cairn in the midst; and St. Petrock's at Lydford is in the midst also of a strongly fortified cliff castle.

In Wales, the stone hut circles are attributed by tradition to the Irish Gwyddels. May not the stone fortresses there be also due to them? They occur in those parts of North and South Wales that were overrun by the Irish.

It is greatly to be desired that Tre'rceiri, Carn Ingli, and Carn Gôch, at least, should be thoroughly explored, to settle the many questions that are asked concerning these castles. But, unfortunately, the digging out of a camp is a peculiarly costly work; and for such undertakings money is not readily forthcoming. Nevertheless, it is to be hoped, that some day pick and shovel will force from them their story.

EARLY SOCIAL LIFE IN WALES.[1]

BY

DAVID BRYNMÔR JONES, Q.C., M.P.

Such exaggerated notions have prevailed as to the antiquity of the Cymric race that it is necessary to make an observation as to the use of the word "early" in the title I have given to this paper. The period in my view covered by that term is the time that elapsed from the first emerging of our race as a separate nation or state after the departure of the Romans, to the Norman conquest or a little later. I say the emerging of our race as a separate nation because the tribes which joined together under Cunedda and his successors to resist the Teutonic invaders had been for many years under the rule of the Roman Empire. Each of them had had of course its own history, though very little is known about that of any of them. So far as I can find out no one of the tribes in the island called themselves Cymry. The word "Cymro" means compatriot, and only came into use after the legions had departed, and the island was left to defend itself as best it could. It looks as if it was employed to designate the Celtic tribes and kindreds who acknowledged Cunedda as their leader after he had conquered North Wales. If this be so, the Cymric kingdom is not very ancient, and it was only in the fifth century that the Cymry began to regard

[1] Read before the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion, at 20 Hanover Square, on Thursday, the 23rd of February, 1899; Chairman, Sir John T. D. Llewelyn, Bart., M.P.

themselves as one people. I therefore feel justified in applying the word "early" to the life in Cymru from say the fifth to the eleventh century.

Now it so happens that there is ample material of trustworthy character for the construction of a picture of life in Wales during these centuries. The two principal sources of information are the *Ancient Laws and Customs of Wales*, published under the editorship of Aneurin Owen, under the auspices of the Government, in 1841, and the works of Giraldus Cambrensis.

Of the legal treatises the most helpful are the so-called three codes (supposed to have been in use in Gwynedd Deheubarth and Gwent respectively) and the Latin versions. All these books derive their origin from a tenth century compilation which was known as "hen lyfr y Ty Gwyn," in which the laws were set down in writing at, or as a result of, an assembly convened by Howel Dda, who was king of a large part of Cymru for many years (907—950). From them it is possible to give an outline of the Cymric legal system. As to the works of Giraldus I speak below. It will be observed that both these sources are comparatively late; but in the times with which we are dealing laws, customs, and habits of life changed only very slowly. The general complexion and leading features of Welsh society and character were much the same in the sixth as in the tenth, and in the tenth as in the twelfth century. Progress there was; but not progress at such a rate as to involve any essential or revolutionary change.

I propose first to sketch briefly the political and legal organisation of the Cymry; and next to give some account of their way of life and their national characteristics. I will commence with the ancient divisions of Cymric land.

Cymru was divided into districts called *cantrefs* and *cymwds*. The exact significance of the *cantref* it is very

difficult to determine, for in the laws of Hywel Dda it is the *cymwd* which is the unit of organisation. In the time of Hywel the boundaries of the *cantrefs* and *cymwds* were evidently known and settled for practical purposes. For the purposes of government from day to day the *cymwd* is the area on which one must fix one's eye. The *cantref*, as it then existed, was in all probability a district over which a lord (*arglwydd*), appointed by the king of the country (*gwlad*) of which it formed part, ruled with a set of officers whose rights and duties corresponded with those of the king. The lord of a *cantref* or *cymwd* must not be confounded with another kind of chieftain, the head of a kindred (*cenedl*), with whom the laws make us acquainted. The lord might, of course, be a *penkenedl* in reference to his own kindred, but his position as *arglwydd* was due, as it would seem, to his appointment by the king of, or the royal kindred ruling over, the country in which the *cantref* or *cymwd* was situate. Sometimes several *cantrefs* were combined under one lord, who called himself *tywysog* (prince) or *brenin* (king), but in any case, if we may judge from the laws, each *cymwd* and *cantref* maintained its separate organisation. The lord delegated to certain officers the discharge of some of his functions. In every *cymwd* there was a *maer* (in the Latin text, *præpositus*) and a *canghellor* (in the Latin text, *cancellarius*), discharging prescribed governmental duties, and in each *cymwd* a court was held by them with the aid of other officers.

As might have been expected, the Codes disclose communities containing different classes of person, or castes. Speaking broadly, *braint* (status) depended on birth. The primary distinction is between tribesmen and non-tribesmen, between men of Cymric and those of non-Cymric blood. The Cymry themselves were divided into: (1) a royal class consisting of men belonging to families or

kindreds *(cenedloedd)* of kingly or princely *braint* (status) who had over divers areas of Cymru special rights; (2) a noble class called in the codes sometimes *uchelwyr* (literally, "high-men"), sometimes *breyr*, sometimes *gwyrda*, and in the Latin versions *nobiliores* and *optimati;* and (3) innate tribesmen styled *boneddigion* (gentlemen).

Below the tribesmen in the scale were unfree persons denominated *taeogion* or *eilltion* (in Latin, *nativi* or *villani*), corresponding roughly to the villeins of English law. Lowest of all was a class of menial or domestic slaves *(caethion)*.

But quite apart from these—the primary classes contemplated—forming the legal organisation, the laws deal with strangers residing temporarily in or settling within the limits of a Cymric area. Such strangers were called *alltudion*, and though there was some similarity in the position of the two classes, they must not be confounded with the *eilltion*.

The degree of the *alltud* in his own country made no necessary difference to his position in the Cymric system. If a Mercian, whether noble or non-noble, settled in Gwynedd, he was in either case an *alltud*. For the individual, the line that separated him and the Cymro could not originally be passed.[1] But there is evidence to show that, in regard to South Wales, the residence in Cymru of an *alltud* and his descendants continued till the ninth generation conferred Cymric status upon the family; and also that intermarriage with innate Cymruesau generation after generation made the descendants of an *alltud* innate Cymry in the fourth generation. Late texts give also examples of artificial methods of securing Cymric kinship,

[1] It would seem, however, that if the king conferred office on him, he assumed the *braint* (status, privilege) attaching to it.

e.g., by joining a kindred in the work of avenging the death of a kinsman.

The Cymry of full blood deemed themselves descended from a common ancestor; but they were divided into numerous kindreds, each of which formed a kind of privileged oligarchy, but subordinate to the kindreds of royal status.

The kindred *(cenedl)* was an organised and self-governing unit, having at its head a *penkenedl* (chief of the kindred). The Welsh *cenedl* comprised the descendants of a common ancestor to the ninth degree of descent. The *penkenedl* must not be either a *maer* or *canghellor* of the king, but an *uchelwr* of the country; and his status must not be acquired by maternity. He had to pay a tribute yearly to the *arglwydd* or higher chieftain. He must be an efficient man, being the eldest of the efficient men of the kindred, and being the chief of a household *(penteulu)*, or a man with a wife and children by legitimate marriage. He was assisted by three other officers, the representative (*teisban teulu*) whose duty was to mediate in Court and assembly, and in combat within the tribe, and to act for the kindred in every foreign affair; the avenger (*dialwr*), who led the kindred to battle, and pursued evil doers, brought them before the Court, and punished them according to its sentence; the avoucher (*arddelwr*), who seemingly entered into bonds and made warranty on behalf of the kindred.

Under the *penkenedl* were grouped the chiefs of household belonging to the kindred, and every one of the kindred was a man and a kin to him *(yn wr ac yn gar iddo)*.

In the light of these legal rules we are able to form a fairly clear notion of the original Cymric *cenedl*. Considered at any one moment in the abstract, it consisted of a group of blood relations descended from a common

ancestor. Observed in more concrete fashion, it was an aggregate of families residing in separate homesteads, at the head of each of which was a *penteulu* (chief of the household). It was a self-governing unit under the chieftainship of the *penkenedl*, assisted by the officers and for some purposes by a council of elders.

There seems to have been some kind of court for redressing wrongs done by members of one household to members of another household within the *cenedl;* but the discipline of each household was maintained by its *penteulu* (chief of the household). The household in its structure resembled the "patriarchal family" under a *patria potestas* more nearly than the "joint family" of some systems, with its joint ownership under a chief who is only *primas inter pares.*[1] The sanctity of each hearth was respected, and each *penteulu* had a right of *nawdd* (protection) within defined limits, which varied according to his status.

It should be noticed that according to the fundamental ideas of this system the *cenedl* was not a rigid or final corporation or entity, formed once for all; the *cenedl* was an ever-changing organism; every *penteulu* was a possible founder of a complete *cenedl.* As Mr. Seebohm says, the tribal system was "always forging new links in an endless chain, and the links of kindred always overlapped one another."[2] Furthermore, it should be remarked that the kindreds, the chiefs of which were *uchelwyr*, were subordinate, in the complete structure of Cymric society, to kindreds built up in analogous fashion of the privileged or royal status, the members of which in theory could trace their descent from Cunedda the *gwledig.*

Such being, so far as we may infer it with some confidence from these laws, the general structure of the

[1] Seebohm, *Tribal System*, p. 95. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 85.

Cymric *cenedl*, we observe that the system (except, perhaps, so far as the theory of *tir gwelyawg* is an essential part of it) has no necessary connection with any particular area. It seems, indeed, as well adapted for a nomadic as for a settled race, and is a personal rather than a territorial organisation. But it is evident the final settlement of the kindreds in a given territory, even if that territory were unoccupied, would lead to gradual modifications of custom, and the alterations would come more speedily when the tribe or tribes to which the kindreds belonged conquered and settled upon land already in the possession of men of other races who were not extirpated, but placed in an inferior position by the victorious immigrants. This probability is confirmed by the laws of Howel. As we have seen, when the laws were set down in writing, the Cymry had been settled in Wales for several centuries, and the codes show that great changes must have taken place in the legal system. Many of the privileges and functions formerly appertaining to the *penkenedl* have come to belong to the *arglwydd* (lord) of the *cymwd*. There had arisen a court of the *cymwd* regulated by a *maer* and *canghellor* (officers appointed by an *arglwydd* or the king or prince above him); the *canghellor* had the right to appoint a *rhingyll* (the summoner of the court—seemingly a registrar or clerk). The two chief officers superintended the *eilltion* or *taeogion*, and they had to see that the king's rights in his waste land in the *cymwd* were respected. The son of an *uchelwr* or innate *boneddig* at fourteen became the man of the *arglwydd* of the *cymwd*, and at twenty-one received land from him in consideration of military service. In South Wales the *uchelwyr* of the *cymwd* were judges in its court.[1] The chiefs of household had become practically

[1] In Gwynedd and Powis, it is said, in the Dimetian code, the king placed five officers in each court—*a maer, canghellor, rhingyll* (sum-

landowners, as against all the world, except members of the household. The rights of the chief of household to his *tyddyn*, and the lands in the occupation of himself and other members of his household were termed his *gwely* (literally, "bed or couch"), and on his death the family land was divided between his descendants.[1] So that it seems safe to say that the *cymwd* approximated to the manor or lordship of English law (though its structure in the tenth century appears to have been a natural development), and not to an imitation of other systems; and that the relations of the king to the *arglwyddi*, and of the latter to the men of the *cymwd*, were tending to become of a feudal character.

But though the *cenedl* was by the time of Howel to some extent disintegrated, and the general organisation of Cymric society had assumed a territorial aspect, it still played an important part in the legal system and was recognised for certain purposes. Now we may here mention that within the *cenedl* (*i.e.*, kindred to the ninth degree from the common ancestor), smaller groups of kinsmen were looked upon as what we may call, for want of a better term, legal entities. These were groups of the kindred to the fourth and the seventh degrees of descent

moner), a priest to write pleadings, and one judge by virtue of office; and four like the preceding in each court in South Wales, and many judges, that is, every owner of land, as they were before the time of Howel the Good, by privilege of land without office. (*Anc. Laws*, i, 405.)

[1] There might be several *tyddynau* (homesteads) on the land occupied by a *penteulu* and his family. They seem to have had grazing rights over sometimes several and distant districts. The descendants of the *penteulu* were, during his life, in a subordinate position as to land. They had rights of maintenance, and were capable of owning *da* (cattle or moveable property), and they had rights of grazing cattle in the common herd and of co-oration with the other members of the *gwely*. (Seebohm, *Tribal System*, p. 91.)

from a common ancestor. The first group included a given person, his sons, his grandsons, and his great-children. This group formed the unit within which succession to land of the *gwely* of the given person could take place according to certain rules. It was also the group of kinsmen upon which joint responsibility for personal injuries short of homicide rested; or, in other words, if a man did a wrong to another which came within the definition of *saraad* (literally, "insult"), his kinsmen, as far as second cousins, were jointly liable with him for the payment of the prescribed compensation in cattle or money.[1] It also seems that the group was responsible for the marriage of daughters.[2]

Lastly, there was no re-division of the ancestor's *gwely* after the second cousins had divided it, but the members of the group were still liable to jointly warrant their common title to their respective shares.[3]

The functions of the group of kindred extending to the seventh degree of descent can only be properly understood after an examination of the law relating to homicide between kindreds on which we cannot enter here.

I have now described very imperfectly, but as well as I can in a small compass, the chief things to be noticed about the somewhat primitive political and judicial edifice of the Cymry. To go further into the legal rules would be

[1] *Anc. Laws*, i, pp. 231 and 703.

[2] It seems to have formed for this purpose a kind of family council. If they gave a daughter of one within the circle to an *alltud*, and her sons committed a wrong for which *saraad* was payable, the group became liable (*Anc. Laws*, i, pp. 208—212). Mr. Seebohm aptly refers to the tale of "Kilhwch and Olwen" in the *Mabinogion*. When Yspaddaden Penkawr is asked to give his daughter in marriage, he answered, "Her four great-grandmothers and her four great-grandfathers are yet alive; it is needful that I take counsel of them."

[3] *Anc. Laws*, ii, 657; and see i, pp. 208—10.

tedious, and could not be accomplished with any profit in the space at my command.

The picture of the social and domestic life of the Welsh in the days of their independence afforded by their law-books, can to some extent be filled in by means of the information handed down to us in the works of a celebrated Welshman of the twelfth century. Gerald de Barri (usually called Giraldus Cambrensis) was born in 1147 in the castle of Manorbier, which still stands on the rocks of the South Pembrokeshire coast. He came of a Welsh family which had a Norman strain, and his grandmother was the Nest—the "Helen of Wales"—who had been the mistress of Henry I, and afterwards wife of William de Londres, lord of Pembroke. His father, William de Barri, and other members of his family, had joined in warfare in Ireland. We must not linger over the details of his life or of his persistent struggle to secure for St. David's archiepiscopal status, or in other words the independence of the Welsh Church. In that effort he failed, but he has left for us valuable books, of which the most relevant for our present purpose are the *Itinerarium Cambriæ* and the *Descriptio Cambriæ*.[1]

In 1188 Baldwin, archbishop of Canterbury, journeyed through Wales to preach a crusade. He was accompanied by Giraldus, who recorded their experiences in the *Itinerary*. The second work is, as its name implies, a description of

[1] The works of Giraldus are to be found in the Rolls series, vols. i, ii, iii, iv (ed. by Professor Brewer), vols. v, vi, vii (ed. by the Rev. J. F. Dymock). *The Topography and History of the Conquest of Ireland* (translated by Thomas Forester), and the *Itinerary through Wales*, and the *Description of Wales* (translated by Sir R. Colt Hoare, Bart.) are published in vol. vii, Bohn's Antiquarian Library (ed. by Thomas Wright, F.S.A.). For his life, see *Dict. Nat. Biog., sub nom.*; the introduction to vol. i in the Rolls series; and *Gerald the Welshman*, by Henry Owen, B.C.L., F.S.A.

the country and the people. Notwithstanding some attempt at fine writing which may have led to undue emphasis on particular points, we have no doubt that in these books we have a true record of the characteristics of the mediæval Cymry from the pen of an able and honest observer. These and the laws being our principal anthorities, we find that the condition of society in Wales was removed by very many degrees from a barbaric or nomadic stage, but it was backward as compared with the south-eastern Britain of that time. It may be that the economic progress of the scanty population of Wales had been checked by the war with Harold, the collapse of Gruffudd ab Llewelyn's power, and the subsequent course of events. Gerald deals with a people who had sustained many reverses, and who had been driven from the most fertile portions of their country by bands of Norman adventurers; and it is obviously likely that these things told for a time against any great social advance, though it may be noted as a curious fact that it was in the eleventh century that modern Welsh poetry has its beginning, and that in that region of culture contact, whether friendly or inimical, with the Norman lords, it had a stimulating effect. Neither Howel Dda nor Gruffydd ab Llewelyn, the only two chieftains of the Cymry who, after Rhodri Mawr, had played any really considerable part in the affairs of the island, were celebrated by contemporary bards whose works have come down to our time; but from the end of the eleventh century we find many poems devoted to the praise (often in extravagant language) of princes, some of whom were hardly of a position higher than that of a petty lord-marcher.

In the centuries with which we are dealing Wales presented a physical aspect very different from that which it does to-day. The greater part was waste land on which

the foot of man rarely trod, mere boulder-strewn moorland, or boggy tracts; and large portions of the estates now divided into farm holdings and highly cultivated were covered with trees that have disappeared. The roads (if we exclude the few which seem to derive their origin from the time of Roman occupation) were mere mountain tracks. There were practically no enclosures apart from the mounds or wooden fences which were made around the houses of the more important families.[1]

When Giraldus wrote, towns were beginning to arise under the shelter of some of the Norman castles, but there were no truly Cymric towns. Caerleon on Usk was in ruins, and Chester was in Norman hands.[2] The social and domestic life of the Welsh centred round the timber-built houses of the kings, princes, lords or *uchelwyr*, which were scattered in the valleys and the lower slopes of the hills.

[1] Rice Merrick, in his *Booke of Glamorganshire Antiquities* (1578), referring to the Vale of Glamorgan, says it was "a champyon and open country without great store of inclosures," and that the old men reported that "their ffore-fathers told them that great part of th' enclosures was made in their daies." (*Cambrian Register* (1796), pp. 96—8; *Report of the Welsh Land Commission* (*Lond.* 1896), p. 663.)

[2] Giraldus says, "this city (Caerleon) was of undoubted antiquity and handsomely built of masonry, with courses of bricks, by the Romans. Many vestiges of its former splendour may still be seen; immense palaces formerly ornamented with gilded roofs in imitation of Roman magnificence, inasmuch as they were first raised by Roman princes, and embellished with splendid buildings; a tower of prodigious size, remarkable hot baths, relics of temples, and theatres all inclosed within fine walls, part of which remain standing," etc. (*Desc.*, i, c. 5). The castle of Cardiff was surrounded by high walls, and Giraldus refers to the *city* as containing many soldiers. The *Brut*, in one of its versions, says, under the year 1080, "the building of Cardiff began." This is not in the *Brut* reproduced in the Oxford series. It occurs in the MS. called D, by Ab Ithel (see preface to Rolls ed., p. xlvi). The MS. is in the B. M. Cottonian collection, marked "Cleopatra, B. v." Whether this entry means that the building of Cardiff castle, or that

Except, perhaps, in some of the villein-trefs, there were no villages or clusters of dwelling-houses close adjoining one another, though the principal hall of men of higher position had accessory buildings. The dwellings of some families were duplicated; in the summer they lived in a house on the higher part of their property called the *havod-ty* (literally, "summer-house"), and in winter returned to the *hendref* (literally, "the old stead"), that is, the principal residence set up in more sheltered places below.

One of the most interesting texts of this Book of the Law is that on *Briodolion Leoedd* (appropriate places). It is what in modern times we should call a "table of precedence", and though nominally it only applies to the arrangement of the household at the meals in the king's hall, it really determines and indicates the order of the different officers. The arrangement cannot be understood without stating the character of the house of a Welsh chieftain. Fortunately Giraldus Cambrensis has given us a fairly minute description of the typical Welsh house of his time, and further material for its reconstruction is also furnished by the laws we are considering, so that we can ascertain what it was like in the later period of the tribal system. The evidence of these two authorities has been summarised by Mr. Seebohm, and we cannot do better than quote his description[1]: "The tribal house was built

of the town, began, the date is too early. This MS. D. is of the fifteenth century. Giraldus calls Carmarthen an "ancient city", and notices that it was strongly inclosed with walls of bricks, part of which were still standing (*Desc.* i. c. 10). It is only with the building of the stone castle that Carmarthen begins to be noticed in authentic history, at any rate, after Roman times. Dinevwr, higher up the Towy, was the seat of the South Welsh princes.

[1] See *English Village Community*, pp. 239–40; *Report*, p. 691.

of trees newly cut from the forest. A long straight pole is selected for the roof-tree. Six well-grown trees with suitable branches, apparently reaching over to meet one another, and of about the same size as the roof-tree, are stuck upright in the ground at even distances in two parallel rows, three in each row. Their extremities bending over make a Gothic arch, and crossing one another at the top each pair makes a fork, upon which the roof-tree is fixed. These trees supporting the roof-tree are called *gavaels*, forks, or columns, and they form the nave of the tribal house. Then, at some distance back from these rows of columns or forks, low walls of stakes and wattle shut in the aisles of the house, and over all is the roof of branches and rough thatch, while at the aisles behind the pillars are placed beds of rushes, called *gwely (lecti)*, on which the inmates sleep. The footboards of the beds between the columns form their seats in the daytime. The fire is lighted on an open hearth in the centre of the nave between the two middle columns."[1] This tribal house was the living and the sleeping-place of the household. The kitchen and buildings for cattle and horses were separate and detached, and it seems that, if not the whole set of buildings, yet the set of buildings with more or less completeness was duplicated for summer purposes on the higher grazing grounds. The house of persons of smaller importance was not, of course, so extensive. Giraldus describes the ordinary house as circular, with the fireplace in the centre and beds of rushes all round it, on which the inmates slept with their feet towards the fire.[2]

In the king's house screens extending from each middle

[1] See also *Arch. Camb.*, 3rd Ser., vol. iv (1858), p. 195; and 4th Ser., vol. x (1893), p. 172.

[2] *Report of Welsh Land Commission* (Lond. 1896), p. 692. *Desc.*, i, x, and xvii.

pillar to the side walls divided the hall into an upper and a lower part; the former part appears to have been raised so as to form a daïs, upon which the king and nine of his officers were seated, while in the other part four officers and the rest of the household were placed.[1] The text is curious and deserves attention:—

"There are fourteen persons who sit on chairs in the palace; four of them in the lower portion and ten in the upper portion. The first is the king; he is to sit next the screen; next to him the *canghellor*; then the *osb*; then the *edling*; then the chief falconer; the foot-holder on the side opposite the king's dish; and the mediciner at the base of the pillar opposite to him on the other side of the fire. Next to the other screen, the priest of the household, to bless the food and chaunt the *Pater;* the silentiary is to strike the pillar above his head; next to him the judge of the Court; next to him the chaired bard; the smith of the Court on the end of the bench below the priest. The chief of the household is to sit at the lower end of the hall with his left hand to the front door, and those he may choose of the household with him; and the rest on the other side of the door. The bard of the household is to sit on one hand of the chief of the household; the chief groom next to the king, separated by the screen; and the chief huntsman next to the priest of the household, separated by the screen."[2]

These were the rules for Gwynedd; in the Dimetian code, as we have it, there is no such elaborate statement, though there is a chapter on appropriate places applying to the ceremony at the three principal festivals, Chistmas, Easter, and Whitsuntide.

[1] See *Ancient Laws*, vol. i, p. 11, note.

[2] *Ven. Code*, i, c. 6; *Ancient Laws*, i, p. 11.

The broad conclusion we draw from the sources we have mentioned is that in the twelfth century, and the preceding centuries, the Cymry were a warlike pastoral people who had been settled on their lands for centuries, but who had made only slight progress in agriculture and the other practical arts, and who had advanced more quickly in regard to intellectual exercises, poetry, and music, than in regard to material prosperity and higher morality.

We have only space to mention a few details concerning them from which we think this generalisation will appear to be true. The principal crops referred to in the laws and Giraldus's works are wheat, barley, and oats. The plough, the scythe, and other farming implements (which were, however, of primitive construction) are mentioned. The ridges were generally ploughed straight upward, and the Commissioners found their form still visible in some places.[1] They also saw indications that slopes and even summits of hills, which are not now and have not been for a very long period arable land, had at some former time been ploughed.

In the laws yokes of four different lengths are mentioned:—The *ber-iau*, or short yoke of three feet, for two oxen; the *mei-iau*, or field yoke of six feet, for four oxen; the *ceseil-iau*, or auxiliary yoke of nine feet, for six oxen; and the *hir-iau*, or long yoke of twelve feet, for eight oxen.[2] The Welsh farmer seldom, however, yoked less than four oxen to the plough. The driver walked backward, and instead of a small sickle in mowing he made use of a moderate sized piece of iron formed like a knife, with two pieces of wood fixed loosely and flexibly to the head.[3]

[1] *Report of the Welsh Land Commission*, p. 657.

[2] The measurements are in the English standard. Owen, in his *Welsh Dictionary*, says the Welsh used four sorts of yoke until about 1600.

[3] Giraldus Cambrensis, *Desc. Camb.*, book i, c. 17.

In the month of March only the soil was once ploughed for oats, and again in the summer a third time, and in the winter for wheat.

Giraldus's remarks seem, for the most part, to apply to the Cymry proper, though there is a good deal to show that by his time there was considerable admixture of classes or races.

Hospitality and liberality were among the first of their virtues. The house of the Cymro was common to all. The traveller was not offered, nor did he beg, entertainment. He simply delivered up his arms; he was then under the *nawdd* (peace) of the *penteulu* (head of the household). Water was brought to him, and if he suffered his feet to be washed, he became a guest of the house; if he refused water he was understood to be simply asking for morning refreshment and not lodging for the night. Strangers arriving early were entertained by the conversation of the young women of the household and the music of harps. The principal meal was served in the evening. It varied according to the number and dignity of the persons assembled and the degrees of the wealth of different households. In any case it was a simple repast; there were no tables, no cloths, no napkins; the guests were seated in messes of three; all the dishes were at once set before them in large platters on rushes or grass spread on the floor. The food consisted of milk, cheese, butter, meat plainly cooked. "The kitchen did not supply many dishes nor high-seasoned incitements to eating." The bread was served as a thin and broad cake, fresh baked every day;[1] and broth with chopped up meat in it was sometimes added. The family waited on the guests, and

[1] Giraldus says it was "lagana" in the old writings. It was evidently like the "bake-stones" bread—*bara planc* or *bara llech*—of modern days.

the host and hostess stood up until their needs were satisfied. The evening was enlivened by songs and recitations by the bard of the household or by minstrels who in their wandering had joined the company, and seemingly also by choral singing.

A bed made of rushes and covered with a coarse kind of cloth made in the country called *brychan*, was then placed along the side of the hall, and the family and guests lay down to sleep in common.[1] The fire on the hearth in the centre continued to burn all night.

From Giraldus we get little information as to the clothes of the Welsh; he says that at all seasons they defended themselves from the cold only by a thin cloak and tunic; but the laws give the worth of divers articles of wearing apparel, *e.g.*, a mantle of rich dark colour; a town-made coat (*pais*); a home-made covering; shirt and trousers; a head-cloth;[2] robes of the king and queen, and of an *uchelwr* and his wife, etc.[3]

As to their personal habits the Cymry seem to have

[1] Giraldus does not mention pillows, but in the *Ven. Code*, iii, c. 22, a legal price (*gwerth*) is placed on the pillow (*gobennydd*) of the king and on that of an *uchelwr*, thus showing they were in use. A price is also put on a sheet (*llen*, or in the laws *llenllyeyn*). As late as the fifteenth century the English "gentry, who slept on down beds, or beds stuffed with rabbits' fur and other materials which passed for down, still went naked to their slumbers; the poor, who slept on bundles of fern or on trusses of straw spread on the ground, slept in the dress they had worn during the day, and the cloak or cassock of the ploughman was his only counterpane." (Denton, *England in the Fifteenth Century*, p. 206.)

[2] Giraldus says the women covered their heads with a large white veil folded together in the form of a crown.

[3] See *Ven. Code*, iii, c. 22; but book iii was collected from books later than Howel's time as well as from the old book of the "White House." See the prefaces to it.

been cleanly.[1] In the laws we have references to the bath; the custom of offering water to guests has just been referred to. Both sexes cut their hair short—close round to their ears and eyes. The men shaved all their beard except the moustache. All paid great attention to their teeth, which they rendered like ivory by constantly rubbing them with green hazel and wiping them with a woollen cloth.

For the Cymry proper—the leading families—the chief business of life was warfare. "They were entirely bred up to the use of arms;" but the language of Giraldus is general, and according to him "all the people are trained to war." When "the trumpet sounds the alarm, the husbandman rushes as eagerly from his plough as the courtier from his Court." We have seen that in the laws of Howel it was only the tribesmen who formed the host; to the *eilltion* only the subordinate duties of a campaign were entrusted; but the words we have quoted seem to indicate that the settlement of the Normans in the land had brought about a change in the military arrangements, and this is confirmed by indications from other sources.

The higher classes (*nobiliores*, *i.e.*, *uchelwyr*) went forth to battle on horseback, though they did not hesitate to dismount if necessary, either for marching or combat. The great majority of the men of the host fought on foot. The armour of all was so light as not to impede the quick movements on which they depended for success. The *uchelwyr*, and seemingly most of the foot soldiers (of tribal privilege) as well, wore small coats of mail, helmets, and sometimes greaves plated with iron. In marching

[1] The account given by Giraldus of the Cymry in this regard is very favourable as compared with his remarks on the barbarism of the Irish (*Top. Irel.*, iii, c. 10).

they often walked barefoot, but in battle array they appear ordinarily to have worn high shoes roughly made with untanned leather.[1] Their chief weapons were the sword, the lance or spear, the battle-axe, and the bow and arrow; and in the time of Giraldus the men of Gwent were deemed more expert in archery than those of the other parts of Cymru.[2]

The fighting in which the Cymry excelled was of the guerilla kind. They did not shine much in open engagements or regular conflicts, but were skilful in harassing the enemy by ambuscades and nightly sallies. As a rule they made no determined struggle for the field of battle.[3] In their onset they were bold and rapid; they filled the

[1] It is clear that even men of the upper class did not wear boots on many occasions, even of some importance. On the morning after leaving the house of Strata Florida, the archbishop and Giraldus met one Cyneuric ab Rhys (evidently of noble descent), accompanied by a body of light-armed youths. Giraldus describes him thus: "This young man was of a fair complexion, with curled hair, tall and handsome, clothed only, according to the custom of his country, with a thin cloak and inner garment, his legs and feet, regardless of thorns and thistles, were left bare; a man not adorned by art but by nature; bearing in his presence an innate, not an acquired, dignity of manners" (*Itin.*, book ii, c. 4). In the laws a price is set on wadded boots (*botessau kenhen lauc*), shoes with thongs (*eskydyen careyauc*), and on buskins (*guyntesseu*).

[2] The *Ven. Code* sets a price on "a bow and twelve arrows" (*bua a deudec saet*), a spear (*guaeu*), a battle-axe (*aref huyall*), and on a sword (*cledyf*) rough-ground, a sword round-hilted, and a sword white-hilted (*Anc. Laws*, i, p. 305). In one passage Giraldus refers to the lances as long (*Desc.*, i, c. 8), in another he mentions frequent throwing of darts (*Desc.*, ii, c. 3). The Welsh, therefore, probably had two kinds of spear. "A sword, and spear, and bow with twelve arrows in the quiver," was the traditional equipment of the head of a Cymric household (*Anc. Laws*, ii, p. 557).

[3] Gruffudd ab Llewelyn in his Hereford campaigns against Ralph acted exceptionally. But he, too, avoided a pitched battle with Harold when the latter changed the conditions by lightly equipping his men.

air with horrid shouts[1] and the deep-toned clangour of very long trumpets; if repulsed they were easily thrown into confusion, and trusted to flight for safety. But though defeated one day they were ever ready to resume the combat on the next; they were active and hardy; able to sustain hunger and cold; not easily fatigued by warlike exercise, and above all not despondent in adversity. Giraldus sums up the matter by saying that they were "as easy to overcome in a single battle as difficult to subdue in a protracted war."[2] We ought to add that it is probable that during the one hundred and fifty years that elapsed between the death of Gruffudd ab Llewelyn and the time at which Giraldus wrote, intercourse and fighting with the Normans had done much to improve the equipment and military methods of the Cymry.

Giraldus bears warm testimony to the proficiency of the Cymry in the art of music. They used three instruments —the harp, the pipes, and the crwth. In their concerts they did not sing in unison but in different parts. He remarks that the people in the northern district of Britain, beyond the Humber and on the borders of Yorkshire, made use of the same kind of "symphonious harmony", but with less variety, singing only in two parts, one murmuring in the bass, the other warbling in the acute or treble.

Much attention was paid by them to poetry. Bards were important members of the community, as we know also from the laws. They were organised in some fashion

[1] So says Giraldus (*Desc.*, ii, c. 3). Cf. the poem in praise of Llewelyn ab Madoc, ascribed to one Llywarch Llew Cad. The bard calls Llewelyn "commander of the men of terrible shout". Stephens's *Literature of the Kymry*, p. 53.

[2] See *Desc.*, book ii, c. 3. It should be noticed, further, as an illustration of the character of the warfare, that the Cymry gave no quarter (*Desc.*, book ii, c. 8).

into a kind of separate order, though we have no certain evidence as to the rules of their craft or guild in those early days.[1] Every considerable household had its domestic bard (*bardd teulu*). Besides the duty of entertaining by song he had care of any documents that concerned the family of his patron; he was the preserver of the genealogy of the kindred; and often the teacher and companion of his chieftain's children. Whether by positive enactment or by usage the practice of making tours of the country arose. The bards went from house to house, quartering themselves on the households; the higher grade of bards only went to the palaces of princes and the greater nobles; the lower grades had the range of the establishments of meaner men. Extravagant pretensions as to the antiquity of this Cymric bardic order have been advanced; it has been claimed for the bards of the twelfth century that their organisation was a direct survival of that of the Druidic hierarchy; and that they were the depositories of a mysterious system of religion and philosophy orally handed down to them from the priests of the oak, and thence transmitted without break to our own day. There is, however, no proof of any formal connection between the Druidic priesthood and the bardic system as it appears in Wales in the twelfth century. There is no certain evidence that Druidism had spread to that part of the island whence Cunedda and the ancestors of the Cymry came.[2] Centuries before their settlement in Wales Druidism had been suppressed by the Roman government,

[1] It is traditionally believed Gruffudd ab Kynan, king of Gwynedd, made rules for the government of the bardic order, but the proof is not satisfactory.

[2] Mommsen denies that the Druids exercised office "in the island of the West," or "in the mountains of the North." *Provinces of the Roman Empire*, i, 185 (English translation).

and there is nothing to show that the sacerdotal class, practically destroyed by Paulinus, ever regained its authority or maintained its organisation.[1]

From the Roman conquest of Mona to the time of Bleddyn and Gruffydd ab Kynan over nine hundred years had elapsed. Christianity had for a long period been the only legally recognised religion, and was probably professed by Cunedda and his followers. It had, first in its Celtic, and afterwards in its Roman form, obtained a secure and undisputed position in the land. If to these considerations we add the facts that none of the bardic MSS. are older than the twelfth century, and that competent criticism of the bardic remains leads to the conclusion that this so-called Druidism was confined to the bards themselves, and that as an institution it was then of recent origin,[2] we must dismiss the claims we have been discussing as mere inventions or efforts of the imagination which have been ignorantly and uncritically adopted and developed in after times. On the other hand, it must be conceded that the office of domestic bard is one which is found in the earliest historic times among Indo-European nations; that there are many items of evidence which show an intimate connection between singers, story-tellers, and the like, and the priesthoods of early forms of religion; and that the memory may be so cultivated that rites, formulæ, poems, and tales may be orally handed down from generation to generation for an indefinite time. It must also be admitted that many pagan notions and customs survived among the people long after Christianity had obtained its formal hold on the community. The

[1] Mona, "the last asylum of the Celtic priesthood," was subdued by G. Seutonius Paulinus, in A.D. 61. (*Provinces of the Roman Empire*, p. 179.)

[2] See the chapter on "Bards and Bardism" in Stephens's *Lit. of the Kymry*, p. 84.

bardic poems of later date may be the genuine echoes of the conceptions of the religion of a distant past, and contain the dim recollections of true historical events,[1] but there is nothing in all this that need alter the opinion we have expressed that there is no proof of any formal connection between the bardic order in mediæval Wales and the Druidic system described by Cæsar. However this may be, the genuine laws and the words of Giraldus give to the bards of Wales a very respectable position in the society of the time, and accord their profession a reasonable and satisfactory antiquity.

Among the characteristics of the Welsh Giraldus notices their wit and pleasantry. They were fluent and bold in conversation; in their rhymed songs and set speeches they were so subtle and ingenious that they produced "ornaments of wonderful and exquisite invention, both in the words and sentences." They greatly esteemed noble birth and generous descent. All retained their genealogy and could readily repeat the names of their ancestors to the ninth generation or beyond, and when we think of the laws we can readily understand this to have been the case. They were at any rate outwardly very religious; when one of them met a priest or monk he asked his blessing "with extended arms and bowing head"; they showed greater respect than other nations to churches and the clergy, to relics, bells, holy books, and the cross.

So far our account gives a pleasant view of the Welsh people in these mediæval times, but there is a darker side to Giraldus's picture. In language which recalls in some degree the rhetoric of Gildas, he points out very grave

[1] See Matthew Arnold's *Essay on the Study of Celtic Literature* (Lond., 1867); Skene's *Four Ancient Books of Wales* (Edin., 1868, 2 vols.)

blemishes in the character and mode of life of the Cymry. He describes them as wanting in respect to oaths, faith, and truth; as so indifferent to the covenant of faith that they went through the ceremony of holding forth the right hand on trifling occasions and to emphasise mere ordinary assertions; and, worse still, as not scrupling to take false oaths in legal causes. He says they habitually committed acts of plunder, theft, and robbery, not only against foreigners but against their own countrymen. They were addicted to trespassing and the removal of landmarks, and there were continual disputes between brothers. They were immoderate in their love of food and intoxicating drinks. Though the language of Giraldus is strong, and his strictures are severe, there can be no doubt that there is substantial truth in what he says, but by way of qualification it must be pointed out that he was a stern and imperious ecclesiastic, that he was looking at the condition of things from the point of view of the Norman-English government, so far as civil matters were concerned, and that he completely ignores the injustice that had been done by the conquest of the greater part of the south by Norman adventurers. What he meant by false swearing was almost a necessary result of a legal system which made an oath an incident of ordinary transactions, and which in judicial proceedings multiplied the number of compurgators to an unusual degree. Especial allowance must be made for this kind of perjury in the case of men who regarded the tie of blood as the strongest social bond, and in a time when a trial was not an inquiry into issues of fact to be decided by witnesses in our modern sense, but one depending on a complicated method of swearing and counter-swearing by *rheithwyr*, who came to regard themselves not as being charged with the duty of saying what they had actually seen or heard, but of standing by a

kinsman in trouble. So much, too, may be urged in extenuation of their trespassing and plundering. For in the early years of the conquest, at any rate, the men of the Norman lord were quite as ready to seize any cattle they could lay hands on as any Cymric youths; and many violent acts of the Welcherie were justifiable, because the cattle they carried off in their raids were looked on as being taken in lieu of those of which they had been despoiled. Their trespasses on and "ambitious seizures" of land in the occupation of invaders need from an impartial standpoint no justification; but the continued litigation about land among themselves, and the habits of forcible entry (as we should say) by one relative as against another, though easy to be explained as the consequence of the rules concerning succession to *tir gwelyawg*, must be condemned as a proof of those serious defects in the typical Cymric character, of which such striking illustration is afforded by the failure of the nation to effect any stable political combination.

But when every allowance is made, the Cymry proper, whom Giraldus describes, were a wild and turbulent race, dangerous neighbours, and impatient of settled control from any quarter,[1] a set of men very unlike the singularly law-abiding Welsh people of to-day.[2] They were a quick impulsive race, wanting in moderation, indulging in extremes of conduct, and we readily follow Giraldus when, in ending his first book, he says that "this nation is

[1] Read the adventures of Owain ab Cadwgan, in the *Brut*, *s. a.* 1106, and in following entries. See also Wynne's *History of the Gwydyr Family*, which shows how disorderly were the habits of a later day.

[2] The comparative absence of crime in the distinctively Welsh counties has been noticeable for many years, and is often a topic of comment by judges of assize and chairmen of quarter sessions.

earnest in all its pursuits, and neither worse men than the bad, nor better than the good, can be met with."[1]

[1] This paper (much expanded and somewhat altered) forms one of the chapters in a book entitled *The Welsh People* written by Principal Rhys and myself, about to be published by Mr. Fisher Unwin.—D. B. J.

GEOFFREY OF MONMOUTH.[1]

BY

PROFESSOR W. LEWIS JONES, M.A.

"*Bet y march, bet y guythur.*
Bet y gugaun cletyfrut.
Anoeth bid bet y arthur."

"A GRAVE for March, a grave for Gwythur, a grave for Gwgawn of the ruddy sword; not wise (the thought) a grave for Arthur,"[2] or as Matthew Arnold freely translates it in a well-known passage in his *Study of Celtic Literature*, "Unknown is the grave of Arthur." Would, indeed, that this were all that is unknown and unknowable of the storied British king! But he comes upon the scene even as he disappears from it—a shadowy apparition, clothed in the mist of legend, stalking athwart the path of history to distract and lead astray the sober chronicler, and to beckon the romancer and the poet to boundless realms of enchantment and adventurous quest. A Melchisedec of profane history, he has "neither beginning of days, nor end of life." Neither date nor place of birth can be assigned to him any more than a place of burial; and it is left to

[1] Read before the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion at 20, Hanover Square, on Wednesday, the 8th of March, 1899; Chairman, Mr. Thomas E. Ellis, M.P.

[2] This is the translation given by Professor Rhys, *Arthurian Legend*, p. 19. It is worth noting that in this quotation from an undoubted twelfth century text, the *Black Book of Carmarthen*, we get one of the earliest literary references to the tradition as to Arthur's "return", and it conclusively proves that this tradition existed in Wales—a fact which Zimmer and others question—as early at least as the twelfth century.

conjecture alone to locate that court where knights, only less famous than himself, sought his benison and behest. But all this uncertainty has but served to enhance the attraction which he had, and has, for makers and students of literature; and the immense mass of Arthurian literature extant to-day—romances, poems, critical studies—may well make the most omnivorous reader quail before its solid bulk. The Arthurian legend has, of late especially, been the subject of so much philological, ethnological and mythological dissertation that one is tempted to say, in contemplating this huge accumulation of critical detail, that *here* at last is "the grave of Arthur". But when we turn to the poets, even to such extreme modernisers of the story as Tennyson, we feel that the spell continues to work, and are constrained still to follow the pale but deathless figure of the Celtic king as he moves among the shades of his forlorn fairyland.

To students of literature, pure and simple, the question of paramount interest in connection with Arthur is—Who made him for literary purposes the attractive and potent personality he is? Who drew, so to speak, the first full-length literary portrait of him, and gave to poets and romancers without number something tangible and substantial to draw from, to enlarge, and to idealise? Literary histories generally tell us that the Arthur of romance was introduced to literature by Geoffrey of Monmouth. It matters little whether Geoffrey borrowed from a book that has been lost, or utilised popular traditions, or drew mainly upon his own imagination,—to him belongs the credit of what we may call the first literary exploitation of Arthur. The appearance of the *Historia Regum Britanniae* marks a real epoch in the history of medieval literature. Arthurian romance would probably have grown and flourished had Geoffrey's "History" never been written. There were

plenty of other channels through which Celtic traditions might have found their way into the European literature of romance; and as a matter of fact, Geoffrey's book exercised but little influence upon the matter of the Arthurian romances proper.[1] Many of the most picturesque and significant features of the full-grown legend are not even faintly suggested by Geoffrey. The Round Table, Lancelot, the Grail, were unknown to him and were grafted upon the legend from other sources. But the im-

[1] M. Gaston Paris, writes in the *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, xxx, p. 5: "Rien ne serait moins juste d'ailleurs que de regarder, ainsi qu'on le faisait volontiers autrefois, l'*Historia regum Britanniae* comme la source des romans du cycle d'Arthur. A très peu d' exceptions près (encore ne concernent-elles guère que les moins anciens des romans en prose), les compositions en langue vulgaire n'ont, au contraire, aucun rapport avec l'ouvrage de Gaufrei, bien qu'il ait de très bonne heure et à plusieurs reprises été traduit en français. Il suffit, pour s'en convaincre, de remarquer que toutes ces merveilleuses conquêtes du prétendu roi breton, qui occupent tant de place chez son historiographe, sont absolument inconnues aux poèmes, où nous voyons Arthur séjourner toujours dans le pays de Galles, ou tout au plus dans quelque autre partie de la Grande Bretagne." *Vide*, also, Professor Rhys, *Arthurian Legend*, p. 371. Mr. Alfred Nutt, in a recent publication (*The Influence of Celtic upon Medieval Romance*, p. 7), writes in the same strain. "It would be a mistake to assume that because the legend found an earlier home in historical rather than in imaginative literature, the romantic element is necessarily the younger of the two. It can, on the contrary, be proved that the romantic form must have been popular in part of France for at least half a century previous to Geoffrey's History." Mr. Nutt, however, holds that the association in Geoffrey's book of Arthurian fable with what purported to be authentic history "had much to do with the vast and sudden outburst of the legend." "There can be little doubt," he continues (p. 13), "but that the Brutus element in Geoffrey's History, the story of the Trojan and Roman descent of the British, which seems to us so tedious and so ridiculous, contributed very greatly to its popularity and influence, and that the purely romantic aspects of the legend derived from their association with this pseudo-history a status and weight they would otherwise have lacked."

mediate vogue and popularity of Arthurian romance in the twelfth and the thirteenth centuries were due primarily to the impulse given by his strange Latin history. It was he who showed the literary possibilities of "the matter of Britain." He it was who opened out the prospect and gave poets and professed romancers their chance. He is, besides, the father of a long line of poets and chroniclers. In English literature, at least, no medieval work has left behind it so prolific a literary offspring as the *History of the Kings of Britain.*

The materials for constructing a biography of Geoffrey of Monmouth are scanty in the extreme, especially as the "Gwentian Brut," upon which his biographers have hitherto mainly relied for their facts, has been proved to be a very untrustworthy record.[1] The date of his birth is unknown, but it is tolerably certain that he died at Llandaff in the year 1155.[2] The first authentic record of him that we possess is in the foundation charter of the

[1] The late Thomas Stephens has conclusively proved (*Archæologia Cambrensis*, Third Series, vol. iv, (1858), pp. 77, *sqq.*) the untrustworthiness of the Gwentian Brut, which is ascribed in the *Myvyrian Archaiology* to Caradoc of Llancarvan, and is known also as the Book of Aberpergwm, having been copied from a MS. in the possession of George Williams, of Aberpergwm. Stephens sums up his conclusions as follows:—"1. The book of Aberpergwm is not the Chronicle of Caradoc, but ought always to be cited by the former name. 2. It is a respectable authority for the history of Glamorgan, but not for the general history of Wales. 3. It abounds in mistakes, conjectures, and unauthorised additions; it exhibits several anachronisms, and names of persons who lived in the years 1203, 1293, 1317, and 1328; it was written in or about 1555." The work is printed in the *Myvyrian Archaiology* under the title of "Brut y Tywysogion," and is the second chronicle of that name in the *Myvyrian.*

[2] *Brut y Tywysogion*, ed. by Williams (*Ab Ithel*), Rolls Series, 1860. In the brief record in this Brut, Geoffrey is wrongly styled Bishop of Llandaff. Bishop Nicholas at that time held the see of Llandaff. Vide Stubbs, *Registrum Sacrum Anglicanum*, p. 46.

Abbey of Osney, which was granted in 1129.[1] Here his name is appended as a witness to the charter, and is one of a list headed by Walter, styled Calenius,[2] Archdeacon of Oxford. From this we may infer with some confidence that Geoffrey was already on friendly terms with Walter, from whom he professes in his History to have received the famous "British book." The fact that his name is given as "Gaufridus Arthur," or "Arturus," would seem to indicate that his father's name was Arthur. Again, Henry of Huntingdon, writing in 1139 of an early copy (perhaps the first) of Geoffrey's History, which he saw at the abbey of Bec in Normandy, speaks of the work

[1] Dugdale, *Monasticon*, vi, p. 251. The list of witnesses as given by Dugdale reads:—Testibus Waltero Archidiacono, Raero Priore, Main: Waltero monachis de Abbendune, Willielmo Capellano, Gaufrido, Arturo," etc. Sir F. Madden (*Journal of Arch. Instit.*, 1858, p. 305), who compared this list with the original register in the British Museum (Cotton MS. Vitellius E. xv), points out that there ought to be no comma between "Gaufrido" and "Arturo."

[2] It is Bale who (*Scriptorum Britannie Catalogus*, 1559) gives Walter the name of Calenius, and also states that he is a Welshman: "Gualterus Calenius, genere quidem ex Cambria Brytannus, sed officio archidiaconus Oxoniensis." "Calenius" probably meant "of Oxford," as "Calena," in Bale's time, was a name sometimes given to Oxford. In 1586 Camden (*Britannia*, first edition, p. 139) takes "Calena" to mean Wallingford, and he it is who is responsible for Archdeacon Walter being styled by so many subsequent writers Walter of Wallingford. The confusion of Geoffrey's friend with Walter Map, who was archdeacon of Oxford in 1196, is due to Leland (*Commentarii de Scriptoribus Britannicis*, p. 187). Vide Ward, *Catalogue of Romances*, i, p. 218.

Very little is known about Walter, but it appears from Geoffrey's own words that "he was a very learned historian" (*in multis historiis peritissimus*, xi, 1), and that he told Geoffrey many things which have been included in the *Historia Regum Britanniae* (*vide* the whole of the passage in xi, 1). M. Gaston Paris attaches much importance to Walter's information as one of Geoffrey's sources (Article in *Romania*, xii, 372, which is quoted from on another page).

as that of "Gaufridus Arturus."[1] These two records conclusively dispose of William of Newburgh's satirical assertion that Geoffrey had the by-name of "Arturus," because he had "cloaked fables about Arthur with the honest name of history."[2] Most of the Welsh versions of Geoffrey's 'Brut' give his name as "Gruffydd ab Arthur"—"Gruffydd," probably, because it is the nearest Welsh equivalent to Geoffrey.[3] In the "History" Geoffrey calls himself "Galfridus Monemutensis," and he has ever since been known as Geoffrey of Monmouth. What his exact connection with Monmouth was is but another of the many unsolved problems of his biography. He may have been born there, but the habit of speaking of him, as many literary historians do, as Archdeacon of Monmouth, is due alike to a misreading of the ancient records and to ignorance of ecclesiastical history.[4] A very

[1] "Librum grandem Gaufridi Arturi, quem apud Beccense coenobium inveni." *Epistola ad Warinum*, printed in *Chronicles of Stephen and Henry II* (Rolls Series). In the *Chronicle of Robert of Torigny*, in which this Epistle of Henry's occurs, we find the following entry for the year 1152: "Gaufridus Artur, qui transtulerat historiam de regibus Britonum de Britannico in Latinum, fit episcopus Sancti Asaph in Norgualis".

[2] *Hist. Rer. Angl.* Proem. (Rolls Series).

[3] Mr. Gwenogfryn Evans tells me that he has not come across the name "Gruffydd ab Arthur" in handwriting that can date before the end of the sixteenth century at the earliest.

[4] As the so-called "Gwentian Brut" is the source of the few popular statements regarding Geoffrey's biography, it may be well to give the exact record as found in that document:—"Oed Crist 1152 . . . y gwnaethpwyd Galffrai ab Arthur (offeiriad Teulu William ab Rhobert) yn Escob, eithr cyn ei fyned yn ei Ansawdd efe a fu farw yn ei Dy yn Llan Dâf, ac a cladded yn yr Eglwys yno. Gwr ydoedd ni chaid ei ail am ddysg a gwybodau, a phob campau dwyfawl. Mab Maeth oedd ef i Vchtryd Archescob Llan Dâv, a nai mab brawd iddaw, ac am ei ddysg a'i wybodau y doded arnaw Febyddiaeth yn Eglwys Teilaw yn Llan Dâf lle y bn ef yn Athraw llawer o ysgolheigion a phendefigion." "A.D. 1152 Galfrid, son of Arthur," (family

probable explanation is that he called himself "of Monmouth" because of his connection with the Benedictine monastery which was founded at Monmouth in William the First's reign. It is worth noting that the founder of the Priory of Monmouth was one Wihenoc—evidently a Breton—who brought over to it a convent of black monks from St. Florence, near Saumur in Anjou.[1] Two early charters of this priory contain the names of two Geoffreys. One of them was prior about 1140, and the other is described as chaplain to Baderon, who was nearly related to the founder, Wihenoc. Probably neither of these is our Geoffrey, but we can with some confidence hazard the guess that the historian was educated at this priory, and that he was, if not of Breton descent, brought up in company with men who knew something of Breton traditions. According to the Gwentian Brut, Uchtryd, who became Bishop of Llandaff in 1140, was Geoffrey's uncle, and under his patronage Geoffrey settled at Llandaff and became "the instructor of many scholars and chieftains." All this we can only accept on trust.[2] The

priest of William, son of Robert) was made Bishop; but he died in his house at Llan Dâv before he entered upon his office, and was buried in the church there. He was a man whose like could not be found for learning and knowledge and all divine excellencies. He was a foster-son of Uchtryd, archbishop of Llan Dâv, his uncle by the father's side; and for his learning and acquirements an archdeaconry was conferred upon him in the church of Teilo at Llan Dâv, where he was the instructor of many scholars and chieftains." There was no "archdeaconry of Monmouth" so far as we know, ever in existence, but it is quite possible that Geoffrey was, as this record states, made an archdeacon.

[1] Dugdale, *Monasticon*, iv. Wihenoc's name is found in *Liber Landavensis* (ed. Gwenogfryn Evans, p. 278) as "Gueithenauc."

[2] It is noteworthy, however,—as Professor Lloyd has pointed out to me,—that in a charter of St. Peter's, Gloucester, dated 1146 (Rolls Series, p. 55) the name of a Geoffrey, who describes himself as "priest,

evidence of Henry of Huntingdon is conclusive that the first edition of the *Historia* must have been composed before this alleged settlement at Llandaff. From the History itself we find that Geoffrey looked to Robert of Gloucester, the lord of Glamorgan,[1] and to Alexander, Bishop of Lincoln, as his two most powerful patrons. Robert of Gloucester died in 1147, and Bishop Alexander in February, 1148. As in all the known MSS., with the exception of one to which I shall have presently to refer, the general dedication of the History is addressed to Robert of Gloucester, and the special dedication of the *Prophecies of Merlin* to Bishop Alexander, it is almost certain that the final edition of the *History* was completed by the year 1147. If the Latin hexameter poem called the *Vita Merlini* be held to be a work of Geoffrey's—and Mr. Ward, in his *Catalogue of Romances*, adduces

nephew of the bishop" of Llandaff, occurs among the witnesses. What makes against his being Geoffrey of Monmouth is that we have a seemingly authentic record of the latter's ordination as priest in 1152. On the other hand, if the Geoffrey of the St. Peter's charter was Geoffrey of Monmouth, he was clearly not at the time archdeacon. There seems to be no valid reason for doubting the statement that Geoffrey was the nephew of Uchtryd, especially if we take the name in the St. Peter's charter to be his. This makes it almost certain that Geoffrey was a Welshman and allied to a good stock. "The native chroniclers," writes Mr. Ward, "speak highly of Uchtryd; and he was perhaps as thorough a Welshman as a church dignitary could then afford to be. Like most of the Welsh clergy, he was a family man; and his daughter Angharad was married to Iorwerth, who succeeded his father, Owen ap Caradoc, as lord of Caerleon upon Usk (Strata Florida Brut, p. 213). He lost and regained his lordship more than once; but in his latter years he was finally confirmed in it by Henry II, about 1177. It is curious to find Geoffrey thus closely connected with the lords of Caerleon, a spot established, upon his authority, as the favourite resort of King Arthur." (*Cat. of Romances*, i, p. 206.)

[1] Robert of Gloucester was a generous patron of letters. William of Malmesbury, as well as Geoffrey, dedicated his Chronicle to him.

strong reasons for believing it to be his,[1]—Geoffrey seems to have sought another patron in Robert Chesney, who succeeded Alexander as Bishop of Lincoln, and held the see until 1167. Neither Bishop of Lincoln, however, can have done much for him, for the next record of him we find is that of his ordination as priest by Archbishop Theobald at Lambeth, in February 1152. In that same month he was consecrated Bishop of St. Asaph. In November, 1153, his name appears as a witness to the compact made between Stephen and his successor, Henry. He died at Llandaff in 1155.

Such is the meagre and uncertain account of the life of Geoffrey of Monmouth. His literary work affords us something more substantial to deal with, though the path of investigation even here is beset with many pitfalls. The *Historia Regum Britanniae*, is, of course, beyond question his work, including the famous *Prophecies of Merlin*. It is not so certain whether he was the author of the poem called *The Life of Merlin*, to which I have alluded. I must content myself with simply stating here that Mr. Ward makes out, as against Thomas Wright and San-Marte, a very strong case in support of Geoffrey's authorship.[2] In his edition of the *Liber Landavensis*, Mr. Gwenogfryn Evans gives it as his opinion that Geoffrey is the author of a considerable portion, if not of most, of that work. "In the rubric to the late 12th century copy of the Life of Teilo," which is a part of that book, "the author's name appears as 'Galfrid,

[1] Ward, *Catalogue of Romances in B.M.*, vol. i, pp. 278, *sqq.*

[2] Wright's arguments are to be found in the *Foreign Quarterly Review* for January 1836, and also in his edition of the poem in conjunction with Francisque Michel (Paris and London, 1837). San-Marte deals with the poem in *Die Sagen von Merlin*, (Halle, 1853) pp. 268-339.

the brother of Urban,[1] bishop of Llan Dâv'." "It would be a strange coincidence," continues Mr. Evans, "to find two Galfrids at Llan Dâv at the same time who were both possessed of marked literary ability." Whatever about "literary ability", it is certainly not surprising to find two Galfrids connected with Llan Dâv at the same time. We have already found at least two connected with Monmouth Priory at that period, and the name 'Galfridus', or Geoffrey, was at that time quite common among the Anglo-Normans. Mr. Gwenogfryn Evans quotes passages from the Life of Teilo which, he alleges, "exhibit the consummate literary artist," and they certainly are striking enough to give plausibility, at least, to his conjecture. He further suggests a comparison of "the style and language of the *Historia Regum Britanniae* with those of the Life of Teilo." I have no doubt an adventurous critic could make a good deal out of such a comparison, but such internal evidence as can be gathered from a comparative study of the *style* of medieval Latin texts must be altogether of too elusive a character to furnish anything like scientific proof. Still, until such a comparison is made, let us give Geoffrey the benefit of the doubt and consider it possible at least that he may have had something to do with the *Book of Llan Dâv.*

My concern, for the present, is with the *Historia Regum Britanniae.* Few literary problems present greater difficulties than the attempt to fix the date, and to explore the origins, of that famous work. Its popularity and its

[1] Mr. Gwenogfryn Evans admits that the words "brother of Urban" constitute a difficulty, and explains it by the suggestion that "the Vespasian copyist hearing that Geoffrey was a near relative of the Bishop of Llan Dâv, without staying to inquire to what bishop, or in what degree, he was related, 'put him down' as brother of Urban."

influence upon literature were immediate and immense. Of few medieval works, if of any, have we more MS. copies extant. The British Museum alone has thirty-four, and the Bodleian has sixteen. But no one has yet been able to hunt out of its lair the "British book" upon which Geoffrey professes to have drawn, nor has any student of Celtic tradition succeeded in tracking to their source the strange legends that have been grafted in the book upon the slender body of truth contained in its story of the British kings.

A record already referred to proves that the History was in existence in some form in the year 1139. Henry, Archdeacon of Huntingdon, in January of that year accompanied Theobald, the new archbishop of Canterbury, on a journey to Rome, whither Theobald was going to receive the pallium from the Pope. On their way they made a short stay at the Abbey of Bec in Normandy, and in the library of that Abbey Robert of Torigny, afterwards abbot of Mont St. Michel, showed Henry "a great book"—*liber grandis*—by one Geoffrey Arthur, containing a history of the early kings of Britain. In a letter subsequently written to one Warinus[1] Henry gives a short abstract of the work. This abstract, in one or two passages, differs somewhat from the extant texts of the History. Two rather important points of difference require to be noticed. Henry makes no mention of Merlin, and he gives an account of Arthur's death substantially different from what we find in the known MSS. of the History. Seeing how large a place Merlin and his prophecies occupy in the History as we have it, it is difficult to account for Henry's silence except on the supposition that the MS. he saw was a kind of early draft of the

[1] Pub. in Rolls Series, *Chronicles of Stephen*, etc., iv, p. 65.

History written before Geoffrey had included the Prophecies in it.[1] In his dedication to the Seventh Book, which contains the Prophecies, Geoffrey tells the Bishop of Lincoln that he "undertook the translation of Merlin's prophecies out of British into Latin, before he had made an end of the history he had begun concerning the Acts of the British kings." There is nothing in this to prevent the supposition that Geoffrey had completed not only the early portion of his history, but even his first account of Arthur's deeds, before translating the Prophecies, or at least before deciding to include them in his History. It is less easy to account for the discrepancy between Geoffrey's final narrative of Arthur's death and Henry of Huntingdon's version. In the History we read: "And even the renowned king Arthur himself was mortally wounded; and being carried thence to the Isle of Avallon to be cured of his wounds, he gave up his crown to his kinsman Constantine." Henry's abstract describes Arthur as engaging in a hand-to-hand combat with Modred, in which he himself was so sorely wounded that he fell, "although"—and here is the significant addition —"the Britons deny his death, and still continue to look for his return." It may be that these words are an interpolation by Henry himself, writing perhaps from memory, or embodying—it may be further conjectured—a comment on Geoffrey's narrative made to him by Robert of Torigny, who was doubtless conversant with Breton tradi-

[1] The manner in which the Prophecies are introduced into the History (Bk. vii, ch. 1) clearly points to their having been included in it as an afterthought. Mr. Ward (*Cat. of Romances*, i, p. 207) maintains that the Prophecies were first published separately. Ordericus Vitalis quotes from them in the 12th book (ch. 47) of his *Historia Ecclesiastica*, which was composed in 1136 or 1137, as "de libello Merlini."

tions.[1] Henry's account of Arthur's death contains one or two other picturesque touches which, if they were originally Geoffrey's, it is surprising to find omitted from the History in its final form. We have no difficulty, however, in accepting the conclusion that what Henry of Huntingdon saw at Bec was a genuine, though perhaps early, copy—Mr. Ward calls it a "first recension"—of the *History of the Kings of Britain.*

I have already stated that we have strong evidence for believing that the final edition of the History had been completed before the end of the year 1147. But there exists a MS. which, if the dedication be genuine, and if its contents correspond to what actually accompanied that dedication at the time it was written, proves the History to have been composed in something very like its final form at an earlier date than even 1139. That is the famous Bern MS., of which the only authoritative account in English is furnished by Sir F. Madden in the *Journal of the Archaeological Institute* for 1858. There Sir Frederick Madden publishes the text of the double dedication of the MS., and assuming it to be genuine, builds upon it some very definite conclusions. The dedication is addressed to King Stephen

[1] That traditions about Arthur's return prevailed in Wales before Geoffrey's time, and that they were known in Brittany, is certain (see note to p. 1). Zimmer (*Zeitsch. f. franz. Spr. u. Lit.*, Bd. xiii, p. 109) quotes an account of a visit to Cornwall in 1113 by certain monks of Laon, who raised a tumult at Bodmin because they refused to believe that Arthur still lived. "Sed sicut Britones solent jurgari cum Francis pro rege Arturo, idem vir cœpit rixari cum uno ex famulis nostris, nomine Haganello, ... dicens adhuc Arturum vivere. Unde non parvo tumultu exorto cum armis ecclesiam irruunt plurimi," etc. (Migne, *Patrologia*, Bd. 156, col. 983). Ward also refers to this passage (*Cat. of Romances*, i, p. 217). The idea of the "return" may, of course, be read into Geoffrey's own words "to be cured of his wounds", but the difference between these words and the explicit statement in Henry's abstract is remarkable.

and to Robert of Gloucester. King Stephen is extolled as a scholar and a patron of letters in much the same words as Robert of Gloucester is extolled in the other MSS. Robert himself is addressed as "the second pillar of the realm", and is praised in much more elaborate phrases.[1] As Sir Frederick Madden points out, this dedication, if genuine, must have been written at some time between April 1136 and May 1138,—the season during which Stephen and Robert of Gloucester were on friendly terms. If, moreover, we accept not only the dedication as genuine, but the text of the Bern MS. as contemporary with the dedication, we must assume that the History, in a form substantially similar to the final MSS. and printed texts, was composed before the middle of the year 1138. For the text of the Bern MS. does not differ in substance from that of other and better known

[1] I give the dedication here in full from the copy of the Bern MS., made by my friend, Mr. G. B. Mathews, M.A., F.R.S.

"Opusculo igitur meo Stephane rex Anglie faveas: ut sic te doctore te monitore corrigatur quod non ex Gaufridi Monemutensis fonticulo censeatur exortum. set sale minerve tue conditum illius dicatur editio. cujus Henricus illustris rex Anglorum avunculus extitit. quem philosophia liberalibus erudivit. quem innata probitas in milicia militibus prefecit. unde Britannia insula tibi nunc temporibus nostris. ac si alterum Henricum adepta interno congratulatur affectu. Tu quoque Roberte consul claudiocestrie altera regni nostri columna. operam adibeas tuam. ut utriusque moderatione communicata: editio in medium producta. et pulcrius elucescat. Te etenim ex illo celeberrimo rege Henrico progenitum. mater philosophia in gremio suo excepit. scientiarumque suarum subtilitatem edocuit. ac deinde ut in militaribus clareres exercitiis ad castra regum derexit: ubi commilitones tuos audacter supergressus. et terror hostium insistere et protectio tuorum esse paternis auspiciis addidicisti. Fidelis itaque protectio tuorum existens: me tuum vatem. codicemque ad oblectamentum tui editum sub tutela tua recipias: ut sub tegmine tam patule arboris recumbans. calamum muse mee coram invidis atque improbis tuto modulamine resonare queam."

MSS. Through the kindness of my friend and former colleague, Mr. G. B. Mathews, I have been able to procure a copy of that MS.[1] The MS., according to his account of it, forms part of a vellum codex and is written in a variety of hands (probably at least five). The introduction occupies one folio, and is in a different hand from that which immediately follows, and cannot be certainly identified with any of the others. But, apart from this, there seems to be no reason to suppose that the introduction has been interpolated. The text presents numerous differences in detail and order of words, and several important differences, in the spelling of proper names, from the printed texts of Giles and San-Marte.[2]

[1] The text of the Bern MS. will shortly be published, under the joint editorship of Mr. Mathews and myself, as part of the Cymmrodorion Record Series. An edition of Geoffrey's History comes very appropriately in a series in which new editions of Gildas and Nennius have been already arranged for.

[2] I have indexed the proper names in the MS. and compared them carefully with those in San-Marte's text, which is the best of the printed ones, and with the Welsh forms of the names as given in Mr. Gwenogfryn Evans's edition of the Welsh version of Geoffrey's Brut from the *Red Book of Hergest*. I give a few examples of the most significant differences (B. standing for Bern MS. names, S. for San-Marte's text, and W. for the Welsh text).

Camblanus, fluvius, (xi, 2), B. *Cambula*, S. *Camlan*, W.
Cuelinus, (iv, 8), B. *Evelinus*, S. *Guelyn*, W.
Epifford, vadum (vi, 13), B. *Episford*, S. *Epiffort*, W.
Frollo, (ix, 11), B. *Flollo*, S. *Frollo*, W.
Galabroc (v, 4), B. *Gallemborne*, S. *Galbrwc*, W.
Grifud, map Nogoid (ix, 12), B. *Guisul*, S. *Gruffudd*, W.
Guaia, flumen (viii, 2), B. *Gania*, S. *Gwy*, W.
Guenhuuara, *Guenhumare*, B. *Guanhumara*, S. *Gwenhwyfar*, W.
Gwalganus, *Gwalgwainus*, B. *Walgainus*, S. *Gwalchmei*, W.
Hamo Lelius, B. *Levis hamo*, S. *Lelius Hamo*, W.
Hiwenus, filius Uriani (xi, 1), B. *Eventus*, S. *Owein*, W.
Sulgenius, (v, 2), B. *Fulgenius*, S. *Sulyen*, W.
Teliaus (ix, 15). *Chelianus*, S. *Teilaw*, W.
Tonwenna (iii, 7). *Conwenna*, S. *Tanwen*, W.

It will be seen that in every instance given the spelling of the Bern text is much nearer the Welsh forms than that of San-Marte's.

The textual differences are all of one kind—the Latinity is less polished than that of the other MSS., a fact which supports the belief that the Bern MS. represents an earlier edition of the work. Four excellent photographs of passages in four different hands were submitted to Mr. Warner, of the British Museum, and he compared them with the oldest MS. of Geoffrey possessed by the Museum.[1] "I should date both MSS.," he writes, "somewhere about 1160. In its earlier part the Cotton MS. looks a little the older of the two, but there is so little difference that it is impossible to be confident." I suspect that the Bern MS., certainly as old a MS. of the History as any we know, is a copy of a very early edition of the full History, and as there is no valid reason for doubting the genuineness of its dedication, it may be inferred that Geoffrey had completed his first draft of the History before 1138. He very probably revised it from time to time, and ten years later it had reached a form which he regarded as final.

So much for the date of the History. Next comes the vexed question of its sources. It would be impossible within the scope of such a paper as this to review and to examine, point by point, the various theories that have been advanced in the attempt to solve this very difficult problem. I can only state what the problem is, and give, for what they are worth, such conclusions as I myself have come to in my reading of the subject. Geoffrey states in his prologue that in the course of his "many and various studies, he happened to light upon the History of the kings of Britain, and wondered that in the account Gildas and Bede, in their elegant treatises, had given of them, he found nothing said of those kings who lived here before the incarnation of Christ, nor of Arthur." He professes

[1] Cotton, Titus C. xvii.

to have found what he wanted in "a very ancient book in the British tongue"[1] presented to him by Walter, archdeacon of Oxford, "which, in a continued regular story and elegant style, related the actions of them all down to Cadwallader, the son of Cadwallo." At the end of the History, again, he states that he leaves the history of the kings of the Saxons to William of Malmesbury and Henry of Huntingdon. "But I advise them to be silent concerning the kings of the Britons, since they have not that book in the British tongue, which Walter, archdeacon of Oxford, brought out of Britain."[2] Then, to add to the

[1] Geoffrey mentions "the British book" three times—viz., in Book i, 1, in Book xi, 1, and in Book xii, 20. In i, 1, he says, "*codicem illum in Latinum sermonem transferre curavi*," "I undertook the translation of that book into Latin." These words are repeated in xii, 20, at the very end of the History. The opening words of Book xi are, "*ut in Britannico praefato sermone invenit, et a Gualtero Oxenefordensi in multis historiis peritissimo viro audivit, vili licet stilo breviter propalabit*," "he (Geoffrey), though in a mean style, will briefly relate what he found in the British book already mentioned, and heard from that most learned historian, Walter of Oxford." This second passage plainly indicates that Geoffrey was no mere translator, if indeed he was a translator at all. M. Gaston Paris (*Romania*, xii, 372) fastens upon these two contradictory statements, and draws from them the inference that Geoffrey was a compiler, who put together what he found in some old MSS., what he heard from Walter and from popular gossip, and what he himself invented. M. Paris's article will be found referred to again in a note.

[2] I translate "Britain" advisedly. Giles (in *Six Old English Chronicles*, published in Bohn's Library) translates "Brittany." The whole question turns upon whether *Britannicus* in Book i, 1, in ix, 1, and in xii, 20, and *Britannia* in xii, 20, are used in a different sense from that in which they are in all the other places where they occur in the History. M. Arthur de la Borderie, in a work I shall again have to refer to, maintains that *Britannicus* and *Britannia* could not possibly mean Breton and Brittany, as when Geoffrey expressly refers to Brittany he either speaks of it as *minor* or *altera Britannia*, or as *Armorica* or *Armoricum litus*. One passage, however, which M. de la

mystification, we have in some of the Welsh versions of the History the book given by Walter called a "Llyvyr Cymraec", a Welsh book, together with the statement that Walter translated the book from Latin into Welsh, and that it was re-translated into Latin by Geoffrey. In the Red Book Welsh text, which is by far the best of the Welsh versions, we find in the last paragraph a statement which adds further to the tangle, "Y llyfyr Brwtwn

Borderie quotes as if it supported his theory, seems to me to make against it. It occurs in Bk. v, ch. 12, and runs, *Ut igitur transfretavit, adivit primitus Armoricum regnum quod nunc Britannia dicitur, et populum Francorum* (Giles and San-Marte read *Gallorum) qui inerat debellare incepit.* "Which is now called Britannia" is an insertion, which does make it possible that Geoffrey may have meant "Brittany" and "Breton" in the four places above alluded to. In the twelfth century chronicles *Britannia*, and not *Armorica*, is the usual name for Brittany. (*Vide* William of Malmesbury, *passim.*) A good deal has been written about the use of *Britannicus*, *Britannia*, *Britones*, etc. In *Romania* for January 1899, M. Ferdinand Lot discusses the matter in reply to Herr E. Brugger ("Ueber die Bedeutung von Bretagne, Breton"—*Zeitschrift für französische Sprache und Litteratur*, xx, 1898). Herr Brugger distinguishes between the four significations which the name had in the 12th century as follows:—1. *Britannia* = Great Britain, when the Saxon invasions and the exploits of Arthur are spoken of; *Britones* are the Britons of the island. 2. After the migration to Brittany, *Britannia* and *Britones* both came to be applied to Brittany and the Bretons. 3. By the learned writers of the 12th century *Britannia* was used as meaning the Great Britain of their time, but never as equivalent to Wales alone. *Britones*, however, does not seem to have been a name given to the mixed population of the whole island. 4. *Britones* was sometimes, by learned writers, used of the descendants of the old British race dwelling in the West and North of Great Britain. M. Lot admits that Herr Brugger is right in maintaining that *Britannia* was never used as equivalent to Wales, but holds that he has not made out his case as regards *Britones*, *Britanni* and *gens Britannica*. M. Gaston Paris (*Romania*, xii, 372 *sqq.*) goes even further than M. de la Borderie, and thinks that by *Britannia* Geoffrey means, not merely Wales, but Great Britain, but in order to maintain this theory he has, without any documentary or other evidence to

hwnn.[1] . . . yr hwnn a ymchoeles Gwallter arch diagon Rytychen o Vrytanec yg Kymraec . . . . . Ar y wed honn y prydereis inheu y ymchoelut ef yr Ladin." — "This Britannic[1] book . . . . which Walter, archdeacon of Oxford turned from Britannic into Welsh . . . . . and in this form I also took pains to translate it into Latin."

Out of all this comes the familiar *crux*—What was the "British Book" upon which Geoffrey professes to have drawn? Did such a book really exist? If so, what was it, and what has since become of it? The various opinions held on the matter range themselves under three heads, —(i) such a book did exist, but has since been lost, or remains to be discovered; (ii) the British book was

support him, to assume that Geoffrey wrote his History in Normandy. "Rien ne nous prouve que Gaufrei fût en Grande-Bretagne quand il écrivait son livre, et il y a même des vraisemblances pour qu'il fût en Normandie. Si Gaufrei était en Normandie, on comprend très bien qu'il prétende que le livre gallois qu'il dit traduire lui a été apporté de Grande-Bretagne par Gautier d' Oxford, et ainsi disparaît tout difficulté sur ce passage." But does it? We have no proof that Geoffrey wrote his book in Normandy, and to transport him into that country in order to explain *Britannia* is a somewhat large liberty to take.

[1] Mr. Gwenogfryn Evans, in a note to the Preface to his edition of Geoffrey's Brut, falls foul of Mr. Skene for taking *Brwtwn* and *Brytanec* to mean "Breton" in this passage. "Mr. Skene," he writes, "does not give a single instance of *Brwtwn* and *Brytanec* being used in Welsh in this sense; nor does he seem to be conscious of the new difficulties to which his interpretation gives rise. Let me direct the attention of the reader to the use of *Brwtwn* on pp. 139, and 171, and of *Brytanec* on pp. 58–414: it will then be seen how Mr. Skene 'extricates some facts.' There is no foundation whatever in any *Welsh* MS. I have examined for the assumption that Geoffrey's original was in Breton." But what are we to make of "ymchoeles o Vrytanec yg Kymraec"? What was the "Britannic" tongue from which the book was turned into Welsh? The evidence afforded by this Welsh passage, together with that given in the note on the previous page, seems to me to be slightly in favour of the opinion that *Britannia* must have been Brittany.

merely a copy of Nennius; (iii) the mention of the book is a mere subterfuge, Geoffrey relying mainly upon popular traditions and upon his own imagination. It will be most convenient to deal with the second hypothesis first, as being the least tenable of the three. M. Paulin Paris is its chief advocate, and Mr. Ward *(Catalogue of Romances*, i, 215*)* seems to me to have effectually disposed of his arguments. That Geoffrey borrowed from Nennius is indisputable. In San-Marte's edition of the *Historia* the portions corresponding, either *verbatim* or in substance, to Nennius's *Historia Britonum*, as well as to Gildas and Bede, may be seen printed in italics. But, curiously enough, Geoffrey does not once mention Nennius by name. He does, however, mention Gildas, and, in spite of M. Paris's arguments to the contrary, it is difficult to escape the conclusion that Geoffrey assumed the *Historia Britonum*, now assigned to Nennius, to be the work of Gildas.[1] Moreover, as Mr. Ward points out, "it seems most improbable that Geoffrey could have supposed his copy (of Nennius) to be the only one in England," which his reference to the "British book" plainly implies.[2]

Those who maintain that he must have had a lost British book before him argue somewhat as follows. If he had none, then Archdeacon Walter was a party to the fraud, as the statement that he furnished the book was made during his life-time. Again, is it likely—it is asked,—that, had the statement about the book been a mere *ruse*, the History would have been dedicated to King

[1] Henry of Huntingdon, in a passage about the battlefields of Arthur which he quotes in his Chronicle as from the *Historia Britonum*, makes the same mistake.

[2] Another obvious argument, of course, against "the British book" being a copy of Nennius is that Geoffrey states it to have been written in the "British tongue" *(Britannico sermone)*.

Stephen and Robert of Gloucester, or that William of Malmesbury and Henry of Huntingdon would have been cautioned by name not to meddle with the history of the British kings? "Had any one of these four insisted on seeing the Breton original, and the latter not been produceable, what would have happened to Geoffrey and the Archdeacon?"[1] This argument is by no means conclusive, for it suggests the question—How came it that one of these men, or some other responsible person, did *not* insist on seeing so remarkable a work? It is scarcely credible that there were at the time no inquiries concerning it, and it is significant that while no contemporary writer speaks of having seen it, some twelfth-century chroniclers do denounce Geoffrey as a fabricator and purveyor of false history. William of Newburgh, for instance, speaks of Geoffrey as "a saucy and shameless liar,"[2] and a few years later Giraldus Cambrensis makes him the object of some polite sarcasms.[3] There is a

[1] E. B. Nicholson in *Academy*, April 11, 1896. A similar line of argument is followed by William Wynne, an implicit believer in Geoffrey's good faith, in his quaint preface to his edition of *The History of Wales, written originally in British by Caradoc of Llancarvan, Englished by Dr. Powell* (London, 1774).

[2] William of Newburgh's language is, in Wynne's opinion (see the Preface referred to in the previous note), so "scurrilous and unmannerly" that "he therein expresses his ignorance and malice rather than any love and regard to truth and ingenuity." William's actual words are:—"Praeterea in libro suo, quem Britonum historiam vocat, quàm petulanter et quam impudenter fere per omnia mentiatur, nemo nisi veterum historiarum ignarus, cum in librum illum inciderit, ambigere sinitur." *Chronicles of Stephen, etc.* (Rolls Series).

[3] Giraldus's satirical reference to Geoffrey is well known. He speaks of a Welshman at Caerleon named Melerius, who "having always an extraordinary familiarity with evil spirits, by seeing them, knowing them, talking with them, and calling each by his proper name, was enabled through their assistance to foretell future events. . . . He knew when anyone spoke falsely in his presence, for he

curious passage in the epilogue to Geoffrey Gaimar's poem "The History of the English," composed about 1150, in which reference is made to two books, one of which may very well have been Geoffrey's original. Gaimar says that he could never have completed his poem had he not obtained, through the assistance of his patroness, the lady Custance, "the book of Walter Espec." This and "the good book of Oxford, which belonged to Walter, the archdeacon," were both used by him in composing his poem.[1]

saw the devil as it were leaping and exulting on the tongue of the liar. . . . . If the evil spirits oppressed him too much, the Gospel of St. John was placed on his bosom, when, like birds, they immediately vanished; but when that book was removed, and the History of the Britons by Geoffrey Arthur was substituted in its place, they instantly reappeared in greater numbers, and remained a longer time than usual on his body and on the book."

[1] The passage from Gaimar (*L'estorie des Engles*, edited and translated in Rolls Series by Duffus Hardy), is worth giving in full.

Ele enveiad a Helmeslac	She (dame Custance) sent to Helmsley
Pur le liuere Walter Espac.	For the book of Walter Espec.
Robert li quens de Gloucestre	Robert, the earl of Gloucester,
Fist translater icele geste,	Had this history translated,
Solum les liueres as Waleis	According to the book of the Welsh,
Kil aueient des Bretons reis.	Which they had, about British kings.
Walter Espec la demandat,	Walter Espec asked for it.
Li quens Robert li enveiat.	Earl Robert sent it to him.
Puis la prestat Walter Espec	Then Walter Espec lent it
A Raoul le fiz Gilebert.	To Ralph Fitz Gilbert.
Dame Custance lenpruntat	Dame Custance borrowed it
De son seignur kele mult amat.	Of her lord whom she loved much.
Geffrai Gaimar cel liuere escrit,	Geoffrey Gaimar wrote this book.
Les translad anfes i mist	He translated them, put in deeds
Ke li Waleis ourent leisse;	Which the Welsh had left out.
Kil aueit ainz purchace,	For he had already obtained,
V fust a dreit v fust a tort,	Whether right or wrong,
Le bon liuere de Oxeford,	The good book of Oxford
Ki fust Walter larcediaen.	Which belonged to Walter, the archdeacon.

Gaimar was poet and chaplain to the Ralph Fitz Gilbert (dame Custance's husband) mentioned in this passage.

Mr. Ward holds that "the book of Oxford" "may have been either the book brought out of Brittany or nothing more than a copy of Nennius." A noteworthy contribution to the investigation of Geoffrey's originals is that of M. Arthur de la Borderie. M. de la Borderie professes to have discovered in an old Latin life of a Breton saint, the *Life of St. Gouëznon*,[1] traces of what he calls an intermediate work between the *Historia Britonum* of Nennius and the *Historia Regum Britanniae* of Geoffrey. The writer of the Saint's Life mentions a certain *Historia Britannica*, which could not possibly be Nennius's History, because it contains names and records of events of which there is no trace in Nennius. Among other things, the *Historia Britannica* attributes the conquest of Brittany to Conan Meriadec, whereas Nennius does not even name Conan, and attributes the conquest to Maximus; it speaks of both Brutus and Corineus in connection with the occupation of Britain, while Nennius only knows of Brutus; Arthur, again, is in the *Historia Britannica* a much more distinct personage than in Nennius.[2] M. de la Borderie thinks this history to have

[1] The date, authorship, etc., of the *Vie de Saint Gouëznon* are given by Albert le Grand in his *Vies des Saints de Bretagne*, "par Guillaume, prestre et chapellain ou ausmosnier d' Eudon, evesque de Léon, auquel il la dédia l'an 1019." "On n'a pas jusqu' à present" continues M. de la Borderie, "recouvré cet original MS.; ce que nous avons est un extrait, fort incomplet, copié au XVe siécle, mais portant en tête le nom de l'auteur, la dédicace, la date, absolument dans les termes où les rapporte le P. Albert; ce qui suffirait a établir l' authenticité de document." *L'Historia Britannica avant Geoffroi de Monmouth*, par A. de la Borderie (Paris, H. Champion: London, B. Quaritch, 1883).

[2] Another point of difference is that Nennius passes over in silence the British migrations caused by Saxon ravages, whereas the *Historia Britannica* attaches much importance to them. Altogether the *H. B.* shows a much closer resemblance to Geoffrey than to Nennius, but it is impossible that the *H. B.* could have been merely a copy of Geoffrey,

been "a work of the imagination of the Britons of Great Britain, and not of the Britons of Armorica," and he concludes, in a quaint sentence, that "the *Historia Britonum* of Nennius is the egg, the *Historia Britannica* the chicken, and the *Historia Regum Britanniae* the superb and loud-voiced cock."[1] What M. de la Borderie has discovered may very probably be an intermediate work between Nennius and Geoffrey, but it can scarcely have been "the British book", as that book was in "the British tongue" *(Britannico sermone)*, whereas the book quoted by the author of the *Life of St. Gouëznon* must have been in Latin. I cannot leave this question of Geoffrey's sources without paying a word of tribute to Thomas Stephens's discussion of it in his *Literature of the Kymry*. Although he falls into errors in dealing with Geoffrey's biography, and mistakes Walter Calenius for Walter Map, his treatment of the subject is as sane and, according to his information, as sound as any that has since appeared.[2] "The explanation of all the facts," Stephens

as the account of the settlement of Brittany is totally different from that of Geoffrey. "Geoffroi emprunte à l' *Historia Britannica* le nom du conquérant et du premier roi Breton, Conan Meriadec; mais sur les causes et les circonstances de cette conquête, il abandonne entièrement l' *Historia Britannica* pour reprendre, en le développant avec abondance, le thème de Nennius, qui fait de cette expedition une dépendance de la conquête des Gaules accomplie par de tyran Maxime" (La Borderie).

[1] "Nennius, ou l' *Historia Britonum*, c'est l'oeuf; l' *Historia Britannica*, c'est le poulet; l' *Historia regum Britanniae*, c'est le coq superbe et bruyant, qui chante sa fanfare à grande orchestre."

[2] Perhaps Stephens is apt to accept too implicitly the antiquity of certain Welsh compositions. For instance, referring to Geoffrey's omission of the speech of the eagle at the building of Shaftesbury, he states that the eagle's prediction is published in the second volume of the *Myvyrian Archaiology*. "It contains," he writes, "allusions to the Normans, and could not therefore have been found in any book that was very old in Geoffrey's day; it is not contained in the Kymric

writes, "seems to be a Breton book."[1] But that Geoffrey merely translated such a book Stephens does not believe, and he has plenty of evidence to the contrary to his hand. His general conclusion appears to me to be as near an approximation to the truth about the whole matter as we can hope for. "We may conclude that Geoffrey was less a translator than an original author, that the ecclesiastical and scholastic flourishes are his own, that a great part of the work was derived from Cymric sources, and that in the wars of Arthur and the concluding portions he has borrowed from Armorican traditions, or probably translated some Breton manuscript."

MSS. of his history; and therefore it is much more probable that he met with it in collecting materials for this work than that it had been woven into any digested narrative." *Lit. of Kymry* (2nd edition), p. 301. It is much more likely that this, and a prediction of Merlin's to which Stephens refers, were composed after the History had become well-known, to supply some of its *lacunae*, than that they are anterior to it in date. The fact, however, that the prophecy printed in the *Myvyrian* (p. 561) is in actual form posterior to Geoffrey's History does not do away with the extreme probability that a prophecy or prophecies attributed to an eagle were current among Welsh bards and story-tellers long before his time.

[1] Stephens maintains with much acuteness that "the Arthurian portion of Geoffrey's chronicle was composed in Brittany." His familiarity with Arthur's Continental exploits and his "ignorance of Arthur's Kymric history" are certainly strong arguments in support of this view. For a full statement of the arguments see *Lit. of the Kymry* (2nd edition), pp. 307, 308. One point made by Stephens deserves special mention. "In relating the story of Arthur and Medrod *in* Britain," he writes, "Geoffrey has recourse to other authorities than that which had sufficed for the account of the hero's Continental wars. In most Kymric copies there is no remark to this effect; in the last the authority is said to be Walter, the archdeacon; but in the earliest Cambrian MS. the truth seems to peep out in the words, 'Here ends the story of Arthur and Medrod,' thus by the admission of an extra story implying that some other authority had been used previously."

Those who are jealous for the claims of Wales in this matter may comfort themselves with the reflection that the terms "Breton" and "Welsh", as used of the language of the supposed "British book", do not represent any very important difference. If, as Geoffrey says, the book was "very ancient", it must have been composed at a date before any considerable differentiation between the Welsh and the Breton dialects had taken place. The MS. Welsh literature that has come down to us is much older than any Breton literature that we possess. Indeed, in any discussion of the early origins of "the matter of Britain", Breton *literature*, though by no means Breton tradition, is ruled out of court.[1] On the other hand, we have no Welsh prose record of any kind anterior to Geoffrey, and this makes it hard to believe that he could have had in his possession any "*very* ancient book" in the Welsh tongue. It is unlikely, however, that Geoffrey would have ventured to speak of "a book in the British tongue" had there been no Welsh records of some kind in circulation at his time. The doubts and uncertainties that beset the whole matter lend considerable support to those who deny altogether that Geoffrey ever had such a book before him. It is not at all improbable that he mentions "the British book" simply to give the appearance of authority to such popular traditions as he made use of, as well as to incidents of his own imagining. It was a favourite device with medieval romancers to give their

[1] It should be stated that by the 12th century the Welsh and Breton dialects had become sufficiently distinct to enable philologists to determine whether particular words are Breton or Welsh in form. Several of the proper names in Geoffrey are subjects of controversy between Zimmer and his school, who maintain the Armorican origin, and Loth, Lot, and others, who contend for the Welsh origin of the Arthurian legends. But the controversy has little bearing upon the language and character of the British book.

fictions, whether borrowed or invented, an air of reality by frequent reference to "the book".[1] It is conceivable that Geoffrey, with a like intent, prefaced and ended his work by invoking the authority of a book that never existed. This supposition, of course, forces us to regard Archdeacon Walter as "a party to the fraud", but it is not impossible that even an archdeacon at that time should have countenanced so innocent an imposture. Another argument in favour of the non-existence of the "British book" is based upon the seemingly playful tone of Geoffrey's epilogue. He leaves the history of the British kings to Caradoc of Llancarvan,—probably a *protégé* of his who could be let into the secret and be trusted to improve upon it. But known and reputable historians like William of Malmesbury and Henry of Huntingdon are advised "to be silent concerning the kings of the Britons, since they have not the book in the British tongue which Walter brought."

Whatever the truth may be, it seems to me that a good deal of ingenuity has been vainly spent in the attempts to solve the problem of "the British book". Geoffrey doubtless had some MSS., besides copies of Nennius and Bede, to draw from. Even more certain it is

[1] My friend, Mr. Hudson Williams, M.A., sends me a good example of this practice from the opening lines of *Berthe aux grands pieds*, by Adenet de Roi (second half of thirteenth century):—

"A Paris la cité estoie un venredi:
Pour ce qu'il ert devenres, en mon cuer m'assenti
K'a Saint-Denis iroie por priier Dieu merci.
À un moine courtois, c'on nommoit Savari,
M' acointai telement, Damedieu en graci,
Que *le livre as estoires* me monstra, et g'i vi
L'estoire de Bertain, et de Pepin aussi," etc.

After complaining how bungling minstrels and wretched scribes have made a mess of the whole thing, the poet says that he "took the true history away with him."

that he utilised popular traditions.[1] He also expressly states (xi, 1) that he has incorporated in his narrative what he heard by word of mouth from his friend Walter, the archdeacon. It would be too much, perhaps, to say that Geoffrey deliberately invented incidents in his narrative, but that he extended, exaggerated, and "embroidered upon" what he had read and heard is more than probable.[2] For my own part I cannot help believing that Arthur's exploits, for instance, grew under Geoffrey's hands as he was writing. I am unable to read the narrative without the suspicion

[1] Unlike Nennius, for instance, Geoffrey makes Vortigern die at Genoreu, which is Gannerew, near Monmouth. He did so, no doubt, on the strength of traditions which he had heard in the locality. Most of "the fables", which William of Newburgh and others tax him with having woven into his History, were almost certainly based upon the "idle tales of the Britons"—the *nugae Britonum* of William of Malmesbury. Where Geoffrey's own invention and art came in was in the artistic setting and manipulation of these stories.

[2] M. Gaston Paris (*Romania*, xii, 372) is of opinion that Geoffrey invented a good deal, but without displaying any particular skill in doing so. "Assurément il a beaucoup—et très pauvrement,—inventé; mais il s'est appuyé, en beaucoup de points, sur des légendes galloises, sur des contes populaires qu'il a arbitrairement rattachés à des noms des rois (Lear, Bladud, etc.)." M. Paris does not believe that Geoffrey translated any British book. "Il ment certainement, car on a prouvé qu'il reproduisait textuellement des phrases latines d'écrivains antérieurs, et que par conséquent il ne traduisait, pas du Gallois. Il se contredit d'ailleurs: il prétend à un endroit (xii, 20) qu'il a simplement traduit le livre galloise (*in latinum sermonem transferre curavi*), et à un autre (xi, 1) il dit qu'il écrit tant d' après ce livre que d'après les récits de Gautier (*ut Gaufridus in Britannico praefato sermone invenit et a Gualtero Oxinefordensi audivit*). La vérité est, à mon sens, dans cette dernière phrase. C'est àvec l'*Historia Britonum* d'une part et les récits de son ami Gautier, ainsi que ses propres souvenirs de contes gallois d'autre part que Gaufrei a composé son roman." M. Gaston Paris holds that a "British book" of some sort did exist, as the names in Geoffrey's History appear to be frequently more archaic in form than those given by Nennius, and they are such that Geoffrey could not possibly have invented.

that Geoffrey, once he was embarked upon the history of Merlin and of Arthur, felt that he had got hold of a good thing and, with the instinct of a born romancer, determined to make the most of it. Arthur's conquests are extended well nigh over all Western Europe—Ireland, Iceland and the Orkneys, Norway, Dacia, Gaul, come under his sway, and he is finally found marching even upon Rome itself.[1] So imposing a figure does he become

[1] Stephens (*Lit. of Kymry*, 2nd ed., p. 307) speaks of Arthur's Roman wars as being "unknown to the native legends", and holds that the description of "Paris, Burgundy, the Alps, Italy, and other places unknown to the Kymry," proves that the work "must have been composed by some person or persons abroad." This hypothesis receives no support from the Breton lays or what is known of early Breton tradition. The evolution of Arthur as a European conqueror points to the palpable influence of the stories of Alexander and of Charlemagne upon the legend. It may be that the idea originated on the continent, perhaps in Brittany. But it seems to me that the various stages and details of Arthur's continental conquests, as found in the 'History', might very well have been evolved out of Geoffrey's own brain, who, as a lettered man, would be familiar with the names of the places which Stephens describes as "unknown to the Kymry". It should be stated that some scholars find the origin of some of the conquests of Arthur, as related by Geoffrey, in the Celtic myth about Arthur's visit to Hades (vide esp. Rhys, *Arthurian Legend*, p. 11). Professor Rhys finds a form of this myth in a story in *Kulhwch and Olwen*, in which "Arthur and his men sail, not on a voyage to Hades, which had become unintelligible, but to Erinn, to obtain possession of the cauldron of a certain Diwrnach." "In the hands of Geoffrey of Monmouth," he continues, "this myth became the quasi-history of a great invasion of Ireland by Arthur, resulting in the annexation of that country to his empire. The same was probably the nature of Arthur's march as far as the Caledonian forest when he made Arawn king of Scotland, ('Arawn' by the way, is the reading only of the Welsh texts, *Augusclus* being the Latin name). For the Welsh knew only one Arawn, and he was king of Hades." Again, "Arthur's conquest of Scandinavia was probably founded on a change in the meaning of the word Llychlyn, which at first meant the fabulous land beneath the lakes or the waves of the sea, but got, in the time of the Norsemen's ravages, to mean the land of the Fiords, or Norway, as did Lochlann in Irish."

that William of Newburgh complains that he has made the little finger of his Arthur stouter than the back of Alexander the Great. Shall we be far wrong in regarding Geoffrey's chronicle as not only marking a new departure in literary history—which, apart from any question as to his intentions, it undoubtedly does—but as being a *deliberate* new departure, as a more or less studied attempt on his part to graft romance upon the old and respectable trunk of the "Chronicle"? Chronicles at that time constituted the staple of literature; they formed the regular literary exercise of monkish scribes. Is it impossible that a man of an imaginative turn of mind and, let us say, of some humour, should have perceived the opportunities of the chronicle as a medium of entertainment as well as of information? Geoffrey, in his Preface, after paying a passing tribute to the "bright treatises" (*luculento tractatu*) of Gildas (or Nennius) and Bede, speaks of "the British book" as giving the acts of the British kings in "a continued and ordered narrative of extreme beauty of style."[1] This sounds remarkably like a preparation, or apology, for the ornate and highly rhetorical style in which he was going to clothe his own Latin narrative. Most of the old chronicles were anything but "ordered narratives" distinguished by beauty of style. Geoffrey saw that something new was required, something more in keeping with

[1] *Actus omnium continue et ex ordine perpuleris orationibus proponebat.* In the two sentences that immediately follow, Geoffrey disclaims any rhetorical gift or intention in a way that is too transparent. "At his (Walter's) request," he writes, "though I had not made fine language my study by collecting florid expressions from other authors, yet, contented with my own homely style, I undertook the translation of that book into Latin. For if I had swelled the pages with rhetorical flourishes, I must have tired my readers by employing their attention more upon my words than upon the history."—(Giles' Translation.)

the demands of a time when the first faint dawn of the Renascence was beginning to colour life with the warm glow of romance. It was a stirring epoch, and strange tales were passing from lip to lip. The Norman settlement proved an undoubted stimulus to the imagination of the lettered class in England,[1] and those who cared to listen to popular talk heard a good deal about the wonders and marvels of ancient Britain. William of Malmesbury, writing probably before Geoffrey had begun his History, speaks of Arthur "about whom the idle tales of the Britons rave."[2] Geoffrey, either himself or through others, heard these tales from the native Welsh, and with a literary instinct for the romantic and the picturesque, put them into an ordered narrative with many embellishments of style. Anyone who cares to trace the hand of the deliberate romancer in Geoffrey's narrative will find abundant matter to work upon. The description of the pomp and

[1] "In the number of the early chroniclers we have evidence that there was mind at work under all the stir and tumult of the Anglo-Norman days, and that men fastened with strong human interest on the apparently confused affairs of life. This quickened material growth, and the new freedom of contact between writers and the active business of the world, meant quickening of the blood of literature. The growing mind of the nation acquired an unwonted freedom of movement, and the appearance of Geoffrey of Monmouth's History marked the beginning of a time when English intellect would begin to find for itself many and various forms of exercise."—Henry Morley (*English Writers*, vol. iii, p. 53).

[2] "de quo Britonum nugae hodieque delirant" (*Gesta Regum Angliae*, i, 8). These "idle tales" were doubtless stories about Arthur's personal prowess, his conquests and his return. Evidence has been already quoted (p. 13) to the fact that traditions about Arthur's return prevailed in Britain at the beginning of the 12th century at least. Even in Nennius Arthur is largely a legendary character. At Mount Badon he slew unaided nine hundred and sixty men (*corruerunt in uno die nongenti sexaginta viri de uno impetu Arthur, et nemo prostravit eos nisi ipse solus*—§ 56). In the portion of Nennius' History called *De Mirabilibus Britanniae* Arthur is mentioned

ceremony and gaiety at the coronation of Arthur is obviously the work of an imaginative rhetorician who delights in his own word-painting, and who puts into the picture all the warmth and the colour that he possibly can. Caerleon was "most pleasantly situated, and fit for so great a ceremony; for on one side it was washed by that noble river (the Usk), so that kings and princes from beyond the seas might have access to it in their ships, and on the other side it was surrounded by meadows and groves, and the magnificence of its royal palaces, with their lofty roofs of gold, made it even rival the grandeur of Rome." Again: "From another part the queen, decked out in her richest ornaments, was conducted by the archbishops and bishops to the Temple of Virgins. The four queens of the kings mentioned above carried before her four white doves according to ancient custom. Attending upon her was a retinue of women, who followed in her suite with every demonstration of joy." Caerleon had "a college of two hundred philosophers, learned in astronomy and other arts." Caius, the sewer, "in rich robes of ermine," served up the dishes at the banquet with the assistance of "a thousand young noblemen, all in like manner clothed." Beduer, the butler, had an equal number of attendants to help him serve the wine. Altogether, Geoffrey conjures

as hunting, with his hound Cabal, the "porcus Troynt", which is the "Twrch Trwyth" of *Kulhwch and Olwen*. In Geoffrey's narrative of Arthur legendary matter everywhere abounds. Arthur's coronation at Caerleon in the presence of vassals from every part of Northern Europe, his dream of the Bear and the Dragon at Hamo's port, his fight with the Spanish giant and with the other giant, Ritho, who used "to make himself furs of the beards of the kings he had killed" —these, and other incidents one might mention, are beyond any reasonable doubt based upon popular tales, though, as I believe, in nearly every instance embellished and added to by Geoffrey himself.

up in his imagination such a vision of splendour that he has to give up the description lest he "should draw out the history to a tedious length." "For at that time Britain had arrived at such a pitch of grandeur, that in abundance of riches, luxury of ornaments, and politeness of inhabitants, it far surpassed all other kingdoms. The knights in it that were famous for feats of chivalry, wore their clothes and arms all of the same colour and fashion; and the women also, no less celebrated for their wit, wore all the same kind of apparel; and esteemed none worthy of their love, but such as had given a proof of their valour in three several battles. Thus was the valour of the men an encouragement for the women's chastity, and the love of the women a spur to the soldier's bravery."[1] Again, the way in which Geoffrey weaves into

[1] Giles' Translation. In this passage we have an obvious instance of the influence of chivalry and its ideals, and Geoffrey could have found nothing quite like this in any ancient British book, although the chivalric idea, as Mr. Alfred Nutt has proved, was by no means unknown to the British Celts. He is doubtless letting his fancy run away with him, and incorporated in the legend of Arthur what he had learnt in the course of his Norman education and training. Although there is no reference whatever to the Round Table in Geoffrey, this assembling of chivalrous knights at Arthur's court is an anticipation of the idea, and had doubtless much to do with suggesting the fuller conception to Wace and subsequent writers. In the old Welsh romance of *Kulhwch and Olwen*, which is of capital importance in any discussion of Arthurian origins, Arthur appears as the central figure of a group of knights and princes, whose exploits are performed under his auspices. In this story, which appears to be purely British, Arthur is the "sovereign Ruler of this Island", and presides at a court, where Kai, Bedwyr, Gwythyr, Geraint, and a host of other traditional celebrities of Britain are gathered. So long, indeed, is the list that, as Professor Rhys says, "it looks as if the story-teller had set himself the task of swelling Arthur's train by introducing into it all kinds of possible and impossible persons and personifications he could think of" (*Arthurian Legend*, p. 5). It would be rash, perhaps, to suggest that Geoffrey knew anything of

his narrative legends derived from documentary or oral sources attests the hand of the conscious artist. In the *De Mirabilibus Britanniae*, which constitutes the seventh section of Nennius' *Historia Britonum*, we find certain wonders mentioned which Geoffrey has adroitly inserted in different parts of his History. Arthur leads his army into Scotland, and in the course of his marches comes, or Geoffrey conveniently brings him, to Loch Lomond.[1] So the first wonder recorded by Nennius is brought into the narrative, and "extended". "The lake contains sixty islands, and receives sixty rivers into it, which empty themselves into the sea by no more than one mouth; there is also an equal number of rocks in these islands, as also of eagles' nests in those rocks, which flocked together there every year, and *by the loud and general noise which they now made, forboded some remarkable event that should happen to the kingdom.*" The last words do not occur in Nennius, and are manifestly interpolated by Geoffrey for the purpose of linking the portents with his own story.

the romance of *Kulhwch and Olwen*, but it is noteworthy that several Arthurian details, more especially names both of persons and of places, are common to Geoffrey and to the Welsh story. *The Dream of Rhonabwy*, also, as indigenous a Welsh tale as *Kulhwch and Olwen*, contains many names of men and places mentioned in Geoffrey's History. One of the chief incidents in *Kulhwch and Olwen* is the hunting of the Twrch Trwyth, which, curiously enough, Nennius mentions, but Geoffrey does not. Professor Rhys observes that "the way in which the romance writers endeavour to form a court for Arthur reminds one of the collecting of Irish heroes round Conchobar mac Nessa, and especially of the Norse literature of the Wicking period organizing a great Valhalla for Woden by bringing the scattered Anses to live together" (*Arthurian Legend*, p. 5). In the case of Geoffrey it is more probable that he, like most of the Arthurian fabulists of his time, was stimulated by the stories of Charlemagne and of Alexander to make of Arthur the head of a great court and a military conqueror of European repute.

[1] Book ix, ch. 6.

The marvels of Loch Lomond suggest those of another lake in the same province "still more wonderful", and of yet another in Wales called Linligwan—both of which are included in the *Mirabilia* of Nennius. In his description of Arthur's accoutrements previous to the battle in which the British king "with his Caliburn alone killed four hundred and seventy men," Geoffrey draws a picture of which Nennius and British tradition supply the details, and to which his own imagination gives the colouring and the general effect.[1] "And Arthur himself, having donned a coat of mail worthy of so great a king, placed upon his head a helmet of gold on which was engraven the figure of a dragon. And on his shoulders he placed the shield called Priwen[2]; upon it was a picture of the blessed Mary, mother of God, which kept him continually in remembrance of her.[3] Then girding on Caliburn,[2] his excellent sword forged in the island of Avallon, he graced his right hand with his lance, which was called Ron,[2] and a hard and huge lance it was, well adapted for slaughter." Many other passages could easily be cited in which the deliberate romancer is equally evident. I have only space to mention one further instance. In the earlier parts of his chronicle Geoffrey seeks to date his narrative by gravely recording contemp-

[1] Book ix, ch. 4.

[2] The names of Arthur's weapons are found in *Kulhwch and Olwen* and were doubtless current in popular tradition in Geoffrey's time. His shield is there called "Wynebgwrthucher", his sword "Caledfwlch," and his lance "Rhongomyant."

[3] Cp. *Nennius*, § 59. "Octavum fuit bellum in castello Guinnion, in quo Arthur portavit imaginem sanctae Mariae perpetuae virginis super humeros suos." Cp. also Wordsworth, *Ecclesiastical Sonnets*, I, 10.

> "Amazement runs before the towering casque
> Of Arthur, bearing through the stormy field
> The Virgin sculptured on his Christian shield."

oraneous events in sacred and profane history. In this, of course, he was only following the practice of other chroniclers, Nennius himself being of their number; but it is Geoffrey's way of doing it that gives him away. For example, at the time Guendolena, after a reign of fifteen years, handed over the sceptre to her son Maddan,[1] "Samuel the prophet," we read, "governed in Judaea, Sylvius Aeneas was still living, and Homer was esteemed a famous orator and poet." Again, at Mount Paladur (Shaftesbury),[2] "an eagle spoke while the wall of the town was being built,"—so the narrative runs, and we can well imagine the writer chuckling to himself as he continued,—"and indeed I should have transmitted the speech to posterity, *had I thought it true, like the rest of this history*. At this time Haggai, Amos, Joel and Azariah were prophets in Israel."

Geoffrey's History belongs to the literature of romance, and he himself, though he masquerades in the form and fashion of a chronicler, to the gay band of medieval romancers. It was from romancers and poets that he had in after times the most generous welcome, though many serious writers of history came to accept his narrative as truth. For a time his audacious book was anathema to formal and traditional historians, but all lovers of the marvellous and the romantic hailed it as a portent from the first. It became at once a potent fount of literary inspiration. Geoffrey Gaimar forthwith translated it into Anglo-Norman verse,[3] to be followed later by Wace,

[1] Book ii, ch. 6. [2] Book ii, ch. 9.

[3] See note to p. 25. No copies of Gaimar's version are now known to exist, but four MSS. of his rhymed chronicle of Anglo-Saxon and Norman kings remain. This chronicle has been edited and translated by Duffus-Hardy in the Rolls Series.

and by the English poet Layamon, both of whom added a good deal of new matter to Geoffrey's narrative.[1] In the late thirteenth century Robert of Gloucester follows him in his rhymed *Chronicle of England*, and a long succession of chroniclers, English and Welsh, from Roger of Wendover and Matthew Paris to Fabyan and Holinshed and Theophilus Evans, pass on his fables as authentic history.[2] The history of Geoffrey's literary influence is, in itself, a subject of vast extent and, especially to a student of English literature, of peculiar interest. Two hundred years after his death his repute was such that, on the strength of his contribution to the tale of Troy, Chaucer

[1] Wace does not add so much to Geoffrey's story as Layamon, but he is the first writer who actually mentions "the Table Round, of which the Bretons tell many a fable." (*Roman de Brut*, 9994.) Some have found in the peerage of Charlemagne the origin of the idea of the Arthurian fellowship of knights, while others deny any connection between them, and find in the conceptions that underlie them differences which place the two cycles of Arthur and Charlemagne fundamentally apart (*vide* Ormsby in "Chambers's Encyclopædia" under *Romance*). The idea of a table was derived, most likely, from a primitive Celtic source. Layamon's additions evidently embody many popular traditions, which, as a West countryman, he obtained from Cymric sources. Sir Frederic Madden, in his edition of Layamon's *Brut*, writes:—"That Layamon was indebted for some of these legends to Welsh traditions not recorded in Geoffrey of Monmouth or Wace is scarcely to be questioned, and they supply an additional argument in favour of the opinion that the former was not a mere inventor. Many circumstances incidentally mentioned by Layamon are to be traced to a British origin as, for instance, the notice of Queen Judon's death, the mention of Taliesin and his conference with Kinbelin, the traditionary legends relative to Arthur, the allusions to several prophecies of Merlin, and the names of various personages which do not appear in the Latin or French writers."

[2] It would be interesting to have a full list of the chroniclers who follow Geoffrey's narrative. Among them, at any rate, are Roger of Wendover, Matthew Paris, Matthew of Westminster, Peter Langtoft, Ralph Higden, John Harding, Fabyan, Grafton, and Holinshed.

gives him a place in his "Hous of Fame". With Homer, and Statius, and Dares, and Lollius, and Guido de Colonna, "English Gaufride"

"Was besy for to bere up Troye."[1]

Passing from the chroniclers to the poets, we find pre-eminent among those who follow him Sir Thomas Malory, who by his noble gift of style and his deft selection and arrangement of a mass of romantic matter has given us what still remains the greatest English epic of Arthur. In Elizabethan times the History had a great attraction for poets, playwrights and scholars. Though Camden brings up his heavy artillery to demolish the claims of Geoffrey's fables to rank as history, that does not prevent poets like Warner[2] and Drayton[3] from giving them a new currency in spirited verse. Drayton even argues for Geoffrey's good faith (*Polyolbion*, Song x)—

"That Geoffrey Monmouth, first, our Brutus did devise,
Not heard of till his time our adversary says;
When pregnantly we prove, ere that historian's days
A thousand ling'ring years, our prophets clearly sung
The Britain-founding Brute," &c.

and regrets that so mighty a national hero as Arthur has found no British Homer to sing his deeds.

"For some abundant brain, oh, there had been a story,
Beyond the blind man's might to have enhanced our glory."

The first English tragedy, *Gorboduc*, is founded upon one of Geoffrey's legends, as is the pseudo-Shakespearian *Locrine*. Through Holinshed Geoffrey reaches a hand to Shakespeare himself, and receives from *Lear* and *Cymbeline*

[1] *Hous of Fame*, iii, 1465.

[2] *Albion's England*, by William Warner, perpetuates many of Geoffrey's legends.

[3] In his *Polyolbion*.

that usurious interest which the great dramatist pays upon all his borrowings. Spenser, in his pursuit of allegory and "the morall vertues", has departed far from the original story of Arthur, yet he pauses to give in due order a rhymed history of the British kings as told by Geoffrey. He tells Elizabeth that there is "argument worthy of Mæonian quill" in the story of

> "Thy fathers and great grandfathers of old,
> Whose noble deeds above the Northern starre,
> Immortall fame for ever hath enrol'd;
> As in that old man's booke they were in order told."[1]

The History was a favourite book of Milton's, who in his early years married to immortal verse the

> "Virgin, daughter of Locrine,
> Sprung of old Anchises' line,"

and who even while the mighty fabric of *Paradise Lost* was building in his imagination was still haunted by memories of

> "What resounds
> In fable or romance of Uther's son
> Begirt with British and Armoric knights."

In our own time Tennyson and Swinburne keep up the succession. For while Tennyson chose to make "a modern gentleman, of stateliest port" of

> "that gray king, whose name, a ghost,
> Streams like a cloud, man-shaped, from mountain peak,
> And cleaves to cairn and cromlech still,"

he remains a debtor to Geoffrey for much old lore about names and places. Swinburne goes straight to Geoffrey

[1] *Faerie Queene*, II, canto x. The entire canto is

> "A chronicle of Briton kings
> From Brute to Uthers rayne,"

closely following Geoffrey.

for his matter in his tragedy of *Locrine*. He is apt, indeed, to depreciate these "wan legends" of Britain as compared with those of Greece and of Rome.

> "Dead fancy's ghost, not living fancy's wraith,
> Is now the storied sorrow that survives
> Faith in the record of these lifeless lives."

Yet, there are compensations—he who feels the charm of these stories is in good company.

> "Yet Milton's sacred feet have lingered there,
> His lips have made august the fabulous air."

Behind the question of "the British book" and of Geoffrey's immediate sources lies the greater question of the origin of what French writers have called *la matière de Bretagne*.[1] I have not the space, even had I the temerity, to enter into so extensive and complicated a subject within the limits of the present paper.[2] An attempt has already been made to show that Geoffrey,

[1] The term owes its origin to Jean Bodel, author of the late twelfth century *Chanson des Saisnes*.

> "Ne sont que trois matières à nul home entendant;
> De France, et de Bretaigne, et de Rome la grant."

[2] No really complete and satisfactory book, containing a full survey of the subject up to date, exists. A popular *resumé* of the literature of the subject will be found in the chapter on "The Matter of Britain" in Professor Saintsbury's volume on *The Flourishing of Romance and the Rise of Allegory* (W. Blackwood & Sons, 1897). Professor Saintsbury, however, while constantly disclaiming his competence to speak of Celtic literature, writes with a palpable anti-Celtic bias. The different theories held as to the Arthurian origins are briefly stated and discussed by Professor Rhys in the final chapter of his *Arthurian Legend*, and by M. Joseph Loth in an article *Des nouvelles théories sur l'origine des romans arthuriens* in the *Revue Celtique* for 1892. The introductory chapters of Prof. Maccallum's book on *Tennyson's Idylls and Arthurian Story* contain an admirable survey of the literary history of the legend, to which I particularly wish to express my obligations.

whether he had any "book in the British tongue" to draw from or not, undoubtedly made use of popular British traditions. Contemporary evidence proves that these traditions were spread abroad in the twelfth century by troops of story-tellers and wandering minstrels. Wace, for instance, "tells his readers that the *fableor* or story-tellers had so elaborated their stories about Arthur that they had succeeded in making even what might be true seem to be of their own fabling."[1] The controversy about the matter of Britain turns chiefly around the question who these story-tellers were, and whence they derived their material. M. Gaston Paris[2] holds that they were Welshmen, that many of them found their way into England even before the Norman conquest, and that, after that event, several crossed over to the Continent. The Welsh origin of the early Arthurian legends is also maintained by two other Frenchmen, MM. Joseph Loth and Ferdinand Lot, and Mr. Alfred Nutt has added much suggestive matter to the evidence on the same side. Different theories have been advanced by Zimmer, Foerster and others in Germany. Zimmer is the great advocate of the Armorican or Breton origin of the legend. Not that he denies that the historical Arthur was Welsh, or that the evidence of place-names links his name to many localities in Great Britain. His main argument is that Arthur grew to be the legendary hero we find him in Geoffrey, for instance, in the imagination of the Armorican Britons. His discussion of the etymology of some of the name forms in Geoffrey is of considerable importance

[1] Rhys, *Arthurian Legend*, p. 371.

[2] See *Histoire littéraire de la France XXX* (Paris 1888), pp. 1-22. M. Paris has also contributed several articles on the subject to *Romania* and other periodicals.

in its bearing upon the question of Geoffrey's sources.[1] Foerster even goes further, and in his introduction to Chrétien de Troyes' *Erec* maintains that Chrétien has not derived his matter from British sources at all, but has only given British names and localities to fictions of his own or to traditions picked up by him on the continent. He also tries to prove that the manners and customs, and especially the sentiment of chivalry, as found in Chrétien, are French and quite unknown to the Celts of Great Britain. The latter line of argument has been combated with much spirit and learning by Mr. Alfred Nutt, who brings up abundant evidence from Irish and Welsh sources to the effect that the chivalric ideal, carried sometimes to extravagant lengths, prevailed among the British Celts.[2] The

[1] Zimmer's articles on the subject will be found in the *Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen*, 1890, pp. 488-528 and 785-832, and in the *Zeitschrift für französische Sprache und Litteratur*, Bd. xii, pp. 231-56 ("Bretonische Elemente in der Arthursage des Gottfried von Monmouth"). Vide also a long article in the latter periodical, Bd. xiii, 1-117, "Beiträge zur Namenforschung in den altfranzösischen Arthurepen." M. Ferdinand Lot traverses several of Herr Zimmer's contentions in *Romania*, vols. xxiv and xxv, "Etudes sur la provenance du cycle Arthurien," and again in *Romania*, xxvii and xxviii. The last of these articles, on "La Patrie des 'Lais Bretons'" (January 1899), is of considerable interest to students of Geoffrey. In the *Revue Celtique* for 1892 M. Joseph Loth also assails the theories of Zimmer.

[2] Vide *Studies on the Legend of the Holy Grail*, final chapter, and *Folk-Lore*, vol. ii (*Les derniers travaux allemands et la legende du Saint-Graal*), and vol. iii (*Celtic Myth and Saga*). In a useful little tract, already referred to, on *Celtic and Mediaeval Romance*, Mr. Nutt maintains that the Arthurian legend had "a double mode of transmission throughout the French-speaking world:—oral, through the medium of Breton minstrels; written, through the medium of Welsh texts." "Some scholars," says Mr. Nutt, "have held that to the oral diffusion of the Arthur legend by Breton minstrels is wholly due its spread throughout France, and that the French romance-writers took from their Breton informants little more than a mass of names and a few skeleton plots, furnishing themselves the detailed

investigation of the origin of all the various strata of the Arthurian matter involves, of course, problems which do not properly belong to a study of Geoffrey of Monmouth's History. The controversy, in so far as it concerns Geoffrey, turns on the meaning, already discussed, of the words *Britannia*, *Britones*, etc., and on the evidence afforded by the forms of the proper names in his text. Zimmer maintains, as against Loth and Lot, that the more significant of these names are distinctly Breton rather than Welsh in their form. As Mr. Nutt observes,[1] "Welsh philologists can do much to explain the *Onomasticon Arthurianum*," and a new critical edition of the text of Geoffrey may be of some assistance to those whose learning qualifies them to deal with this difficult branch of the subject.

Here, again, as in the controversy about the existence of "the British book", the truth will probably be found somewhere in the middle. "The matter of Britain" is doubtless common to all the so-called Celtic peoples; they all had it in germ, more or less. Wales, Cornwall, Brittany and, to a lesser extent, Ireland, all contributed their quota to the mass of Arthurian tradition. Is it really worth while to quarrel as to the exact share in this common heritage possessed by the different branches of a kindred race? The Britons of this island, the direct ancestors of the Welsh people, undoubtedly possessed the historical Arthur. The legendary Arthur grew in the imagination alike of the Britons of Wales, of Cornwall, of Armorica.

incident, the form, and the animating spirit. But we can detect a written as well as an oral transmission. Many of the names in the French romances not only betray the fact of their derivation from a written source, but also that this must have been in the Welsh rather than in the Breton form of the common Brythonic tongue" (p. 9).

[1] Preface to *Studies on the Legend of the Holy Grail.*

We need not in this matter be too anxious to cut up the all too slender Celtic fringe. Rather let each branch of the Celtic race be allowed to rejoice in its title to be held a contributor to so splendid a monument of poetry and romance as perpetuates the memory of Arthur. For he, *rex quondam rexque futurus*, transfigured by the sublime dream of his return, stands as the symbol of the hope, inevitably futile perhaps but ever resurgent, of the Celtic people. Cherishing their ancient institutions and their pride of birth, they ever look forward to some brighter future,

> "Still nursing the unconquerable hope,
> Still clutching the inviolable shade."

It may be somewhat fanciful to find in the Arthurian legend the impress of the character and the destiny of the Celtic races. But it is curious that alike in the history of those races and in the fable of Arthur we find imagination fed and fostered upon dreams of a prowess that has departed and of a glory that is to come. The hope of "renascence" —soiled though the word has been by much ignoble use —does, after all, dwell with a strange vitality in the Celtic breast. Just as the Celt exaggerates the past achievements of his race, so does he ever love to view the future through the glamour of a splendid though vague expectation. "Arthur's return" is to him the symbol of the deathless spirit of Celtic nationality. Of Arthur the bards are still left to sing "unknown is his grave."

> "Sun, rain, and sun! and where is he who knows?
> From the great deep to the great deep he goes."

One thing, however, we do know, and it is something actual and tangible for the Celtic peoples to take pride in —that the legend lives, and will live, as the enduring bequest of the Celtic imagination to the literature of the world.

ARGRAPHWYR, CYHOEDDWYR, A LLYFRWERTHWYR CYMRU.[1]

GAN ISAAC FOULKES (*Llyfrbryf*),
LERPWL.

TESTYN hyn o ysgrif ydyw "Argraphwyr, Cyhoeddwyr, a Llyfr-werthwyr Cymru". Wrth hyn golygir pob galwedigaeth sydd ar waith yn ngyhoeddiad llyfr, o'i awdwr i'r llyfrwerthwr. Gwelir ar unwaith eangder y maes, a'r amhosiblrwydd i undyn ymdrin mewn papyr brysiog fel hyn, ond a chongl fach ohono. Ond pa gongl? Wedi cryn betrusder dewisais y gongl agosaf ataf; y gongl y gwn fwyaf am dani oddiar adnabyddiaeth bersonol, ac y tybiaf y gwyr eraill lai na mi. Mae hanes y maes mawr a dyddorol hwn heb ei ysgrifenu eto, yn disgwyl megys am ei hanesydd; a charwn, trwy yr ychydig sylwadau hyn, roddi help llaw iddo. Hwyrach fel argraphydd agos i haner cant oed, ac un wedi ymhela a holl ganghenau'r alwedigaeth y bydd fy mhrofiad o ryw werth i'r Henry Curwen neu y William Roberts Cymreig, pan gyfyd rhyw Gymro cyffelyb i'r ddau Sais medrus hyn, i ddodi a'r gof a chadw, a chyflawni yr un gymwynas a darllenwyr Cymreig ag a wnaethant hwy a llengarwyr Seisnig.

[1] Read before the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion at 20 Hanover Square, on Wednesday the 19th of April, 1899; Chairman, Mr. William Jones, M.P.

Caniatewch i mi felly ddechreu gyda mi fy hun, neu yn hytrach fy hen feistr—fy nghyfarwyddwr yn y grefft—

ISAAC CLARKE

o Ruthin, ac fel y bo amser yn caniatau awn ymlaen at eraill. Brodor o Bont Bleddyn ger y Wyddgrug oedd Mr. Clarke. Dysgodd ei grefft gyda Hugh Jones yn y dref hono, ac yna daeth i arolygu argraphdy bychan yn Rhuthin i weddw o'r enw Mrs. Maddocks. Ni bu yn y swydd hono yn hir na chydsyniodd a chais amryw o'i gyfeillion i godi masnach ei hun. Mewn parlwr lled fawr i dy annedd, yn gwynebu ar y *Wynnstay Arms*, y cododd Clarke ei achos i fynu gyntaf. Nid oedd ganddo ond un wasg, *Double Crown Columbian* fel ei gelwir, a rhyw bymtheg neu ugain o wahanol rywogaethau o lyth'renau, rhai ohonynt yn lled gryfion at argraffu llyfrau. Yr oedd yn swyddfa fach gryno wedi ei dethol yn ofalus gan ddyn o chwaeth argraphyddol, a'i phrynu bron i gyd gan Besley o Lunden, ffirm a gynrychiolir yn awr gan gwmni Syr Charles Reed. Yn fuan daeth John Roberts, yr Almanaciwr o Gaergybi ar ei bererindod yno, a thariodd am rai misoedd yn tori llyth'renau coed, ac yn cadw ei gorphyn hirfain yn llaith gyda diod y gwesty gyferbyn. Ond daeth yr amser i wneud Almanac Caergybi at y flwyddyn ganlynol, a gadawodd John Roberts Ddyffryn Clwyd am Ynys Cybi, i efrydu'r ser a'r planedau, ac i ragfynegi yr hin am y deuddeg mis dyfodol wrth ei gydwladwyr ffyddiog.

Y llyfr cyntaf a argraffodd ac a gyhoeddodd Mr. Clarke oedd *Ceinion Alun*, sef barddoniaeth a llythyrau John Blackwell (1851) hawl-ysgrif yr hwn a brynodd gan unig chwaer y bardd—Tabitha Kirkham—yr hon gyda' i phriod oeddynt yn cadw gwartheg ac yn gwerthu llaeth yn Stryt Llanrhudd. Hi oedd unig chwaer Blackwell ac efe oedd

ei hunig frawd hithau. Iddi hi a'i theulu y gadawodd efe ei dipyn arian, a'r arian hyny a'i galluogodd i gychwyn yn masnach y llaeth; ond nid oedd llaethdy yn Rhuthin haner can mlynedd yn ol yn talu cystal a llaethdy yn Llunden y dyddiau hyn! Aeth y gwartheg yn llai eu nifer, darfu'r llaeth, a hendwr i Tabitha Kirkham druan oedd cael tipyn arian hawl-ysgrif *Ceinion Alun*, yr hyn a dderbyniai yn ddiolchgar er yn ddognau lled fychan, canys nid oedd Clarke yn graig o arian mwy na rhai o'i brentisiaid ar ei ol.

Mae rhestr ei danysgrifwyr i *Geinion Alun* yn brawf iddo wneud ychydig arian oddiwrth yr anturiaeth, yr hyn a'i cyfiawnhaodd i ymgymeryd ag anturiaethau eraill na fuont hwyrach mor llwyddianus. Ond yr oedd gan fy hen feistr chwaeth lenyddol dda, a llygad masnachol lled glir ar y cyfan, fel y dengys y lyfrau a gyhoeddodd, megys *Oriau'r Hwyr* ac *Oriau'r Boreu* Ceiriog, rhai o lyfrau cerddorol ei gymydog J. D. Jones, ac yn enwedig *Gems of Welsh Melody* Owain Alaw. Prynodd *music type* at y gwaith hwn a chysododd ef ei hun, prawf ei fod yn ddyn celfydd, canys y mae gosod pob bar o fwsic fel dadrys un o broblemau Euclid. Gwerthodd y *Gems* yn rhagorol, gwnaeth y cyhoeddwr yn ddiau elw da oddiwrtho, ac y mae'n dal i werthu eto gan Mri. Hughes o Wrecsam. Felly hefyd y darfu dau lyfr cyntaf Ceiriog, am y rhai y talodd y cyhoeddwr, £10 am *Oriau'r Hwyr*, a £15 am *Oriau'r Boreu*.

Ond collodd Mr. Clarke ei heulen o lwyddiant. Amlach y gwelid ef ar lan yr afon Glwyd yn ceisio dal pysgod, nag yn ei swyddfa yn ceisio dal cwsmeriaid, ac yn symera fel udganydd gyda'r *Cavalry* nag yn udganu ei glodydd ei hun a'i lyfrau, yn ol defod dda ac arfer pob cyhoeddwr llwyddianus er dechreuad yr alwedigaeth gyhoeddiadol. Bu farw Ebrill 5, 1875 yn 51 mlwydd oed.

Gadewch ini gymeryd y dref nesaf i Ruthin, a chael gair neu ddau am

THOMAS GEE.

Sylfaenydd y wasg adnabyddus, hen, ac anrhydeddus hon, ydoedd tad y Mr. Gee a adwaenem ni ac a fu farw ddeunaw mis yn ol. Brodor o Gaerlleon oedd y Thomas Gee cyntaf yr hwn, gyda Robert Saunderson o'r Bala, a John Brown o Fangor, a ddysgasant eu crefft ar yr un pryd yn swyddfa W. Collister Jones yn Nghaer. Os trowch chwi i wyneb-ddalen y *Drysorfa Ysprydol* yn nechreu y ganrif, chwi a welwch mai Mr. Collister Jones oedd yn ei hargraphu. Ond, oblegyd anghyfleusdra gwasg bell, cododd Mr. Charles wasg yn ei ymyl yn y Bala, ac aeth Mr. Saunderson yno fel y prif weithiwr yn 1803, a phan fu farw Mr. Charles prynodd y swyddfa gan ei dwyn ymlaen yn llwyddianus hyd nes y bu farw. Argraphwyd amryw lyfrau pwysig gan Mr. Saunderson megys *Geiriadur Charles;* ac yma yr argreffid y *Gwyliedydd* o'r rhifyn cyntaf i'r olaf. Cerir gwaith argraphydd ymlaen yn yr un adeilad hyd y dydd hwn. Aeth Mr. Brown i Fangor a bu am lawer iawn o flynyddau yn cyhoeddi ac yn argraphu y *North Wales Chronicle.* Derbyniodd Thomas Gee alwad y Parch. Thomas Jones awdwr enwog y *Merthyrdraeth,* a chyfieithydd Llyfr Gurnal "*Y Cristion mewn cyflawn arfogaeth*",—dau lyfr a fuont yn dra phoblogaidd am oesau, ac nad ydynt eto wedi colli eu blas i genedl y Cymry. Yr oedd Mr. Jones ar y pryd yn byw yn Rhuthin, ac yno y gosododd ei swyddfa i fynu. Daeth Mr. Gee ato yn 1808, ond yn 1809, symudodd Mr. Jones ei swyddfa a'i weithwyr i Ddinbych. Y mae'r adeilad a drodd Mr. Jones yn argraphdy yn Rhuthin yn dal i fynu eto, ac i'w weled yn muarth yr *Antelope,* Penbarras. Yn union ar ol cyrhaedd Dinbych prynodd Mr. Gee y swyddfa a dechreuodd yn fuan gynysgaeddu y

Cymry a llyfrau; ac ni fu odid ball ar y llyfrau a ddaeth o'r *Clwydian Press*, fel ei gelwir, o 1809 hyd 1899, cyfnod hir o gant namyn deng mlynedd.

Mab hynaf Thomas Gee y Cyntaf oedd Thomas Gee yr Ail y bu y wlad yn galaru ar ei ol yn ddiweddar. Ganwyd ef yn 1815; cafodd addysg dda; dechreuodd weithio yn swyddfa ei dad pan yn 13 mlwydd oed, a chymerodd ei holl ofal pan yn ddeunaw oed. Ymunodd a'i dad fel cyd-gyfranogydd, a bu yn foddion i eangu'r fasnach, nes y daeth, ac yr erys ar rai golygon, y swyddfa gyhoeddi ac argraphu Gymraeg fwyaf yn Nghymru. Yr oedd Mr. Thomas Gee yr Ail mor llawn o yspryd anturiaethus fel y cyhoeddodd y *Gwyddioniadur*, yr hwn a gwblhawyd mewn deg cyfrol drwchus; a bu galwad mor fawr am dano fel y dygwyd ail argraphiad diwygiadol allan bedair neu bum mlynedd yn ol. Amser a ballai imi nodi y llyfrau trymion a ddaeth o wasg Mr. Gee yn ystod yr haner canrif ddiweddaf, heblaw y newyddiaduron—y ddwy *Faner*—a'r cylch-gronau, megys cyfrolau cyntaf y *Traethodydd* a'r *Geiniogwerth*—cyhoeddiadau na bu gan lenyddiaeth yr un wlad eu rhagorach. Un o'r dynion mwyaf anturiaethus a fu erioed yn Nghymru oedd Mr. Gee gyda' i fasnach cystal a phethau eraill. Hyn oedd ei nerth; hyn hefyd oedd ei wendid, oblegid nid yw ttwyddiant bob amser yn dilyn anturiaeth.

Yn 1842 ymunodd ei fab Mr. Howell Gee a'r fasnach, ac efe sydd yn ei dwyn ymlaen yn bresenol. Ni fuasai cenedl y Cymry yr hyn ydyw yn awr yn llenyddol na chymdeithasol oni buasai am y *Clwydian Press;* a hir y parhao i ledaenu ei dylanwad iachus yn mysg ein cenedl.

Robert Davies

o Lansannan. Un o brif lyfr-werthwyr Mr. Gee a chyhoeddwyr llyfrau Cymraeg eraill ei oes ef, oedd Robert

Davies o Lansannan. Cadw ystorfa fechan o lyfrau yn y Llan gwledig yr ydoedd ran fawr o'i oes, rhwymo llyfrau yn gryf ac yn wladaidd, a myn'd oddiamgylch y wlad i werthu llyfrau; felly yr enillai ef ei fywoliaeth, a bywoliaeth anrhydeddus ydoedd, deilwng o barch a chlod mawr. Yr oedd yn hen lanc, ac yn fanwl o gywir a gonest yn ei fasnach: yn llenor gwych, yn ddarllenwr mawr, ac wedi meistroli cystrawen yr iaith a rheolau'r gynghanedd. Efe oedd athraw barddonol y diweddar Doctor William Rees *(Gwilym Hiraethog)* ac y mae y dyn a'r bardd godidog hwnw yn cyfeirio ato fel y canlyn yn yr Hunan-Gofiant sydd ar ddechreu *Caniadau Hiraethog:*

Yr un a fu yn offerynol gyntaf i dueddu fy meddwl yn y ffordd hon (barddoniaeth) ydoedd R. ab Dafydd (Robert Davies) o'r Gilfach Lwyd, Llansannan, yr hwn oedd i ni yn gymydog agos; a chanddo drysorfa led gyfoethog o lyfrau Cymreig, henafiaeth a barddoniaeth; a'r hwn oedd yn dra hyddysg yn ngramadeg yr iaith a rheolau barddoniaeth. Cyrchwn at fy nghyfaill R. Davies bob cyfleusdra a gawn, i ddarllen ei lyfrau ac i dderbyn ei addysgiadau. Ewyllysiai ef wneud bardd ohonof; ond cafodd waith caled i'm dysgyblu cyn y gallai hyd yn oed gynyrchu unrhyw awydd ynof at y gelfyddyd; a gwaith calettach na hyny drachefu i'm haddysgu i ddeall rheolau ac adnabod beiau gwaharddedig cerdd dafod; bum yn hir "fel llo heb gynefino a'r iau". Athraw llym-fanwl oedd R. Davies; nid oedd trugaredd na maddeuant i'w cael ganddo am wall gramadegol neu gynghaneddol; dwrdiodd fi yn erwin-dost lawer tro am wallau felly. Byddwn yn arswydo wrth fyned a chyfansoddiad i'w ddangos iddo; ond yr oedd fy nghynydd graddol yn peri iddo fawr foddhad; a chredaf yn ddilys bod llwyddiant fy anturiaeth gystadleuol yn Aberhonddu (pan enillodd Hiraethog y wobr am ei gywydd ardderchog ar Frwydr Trafalgar) wedi peri cymaint o lawenydd i feddwl fy athraw ag a barodd i mi fy hun.

Dyna dystiolaeth uchel un o brif-feirdd Cymru i un a fu o fendith anrhaethol i'w genedl mewn cwr gwledig, pan oedd y tywyllwch yn ddu o'i hamgylch a phrinder gwybodaeth yn y ffurf o lyfrau yn ddifrifol. Cafodd yr hen lanc cymhenllyd a gwastad fyw i oedran mawr. Yr oedd

ei dy yn y Llan yn gyrchfan-min-nos gwyr meddylgar y fro. Cymerodd yn ei ben yn 1854 i gadw Dyddlyfr, a daliodd ati am dair neu bedair blynedd. Cefais un or llyfrau hyn yn anrheg gan hen gymydog iddo rai misoedd yn ol. Cynwysa rai or pethau hynotaf a fu erioed mewn Dyddlyfr. Anfynych yr elai'r hen fachgen tros y trothwy i gapel nac eglwys; ond yr oedd ganddo gydwybod dyner. Dyma nodyn sydd ganddo gogyfer a Sul y Drindod 1857; "Pechais heddyw trwy werthu rhan 1 a 2 o'r *Cyclopædia* y ddwy ran am 1*s*. 6*c*. i D. Jones Allt Ddu; a chollais o fy ymyl yn y llofft, *Dictionary* Titus Lewis, am fy ngwaith pechadurus". Mewn man arall ceir y nodiad hwn; "Heddyw y cefais ffiolaid o flawd ceirch o Ty'n y Mynydd am 1*s*. 8*c*. ac addewid am un arall wedi ei phobi am 1*s*. 10*c*." Fe welir oddiwrth hyn fod yr hen lyfr-werthwr gonest yn gofalu am ei gorph, ei ddeall, a'i yspryd. Pan fantolir y cyfrif mawr nid wyf yn meddwl y bydd Robert ap Dafydd o Lansannan yn mhell ar ol ei gymydogion mwynach eu lleferydd ac uwch eu harddeliad.

Hughes o Wrecsam.

Dywedais mai Mri. Hughes o Wrecsam a brynodd hawl-ysgrifau Mr. Clarke. Danfonodd y cyfreithwyr yn methdaliad Clarke atynt yn gofyn am gynyg ar y *copy-rights*; a daeth Mr. Charles Hughes trosodd, pan y tarawyd bargen, sef £100 am yr hawl-ysgrifau a'r *stereos* oedd yn perthyn iddynt. Rywsut clybu'r methdalwr am y fargen, a chyn y cyrhaeddodd Mr. Hughes i'r argraphdy i hawlio ei eiddo, yr oedd y ffwrnais wedi ei phoethi, a phlatiau y *Gems of Welsh Melody*, gwerth o gwbl agos i £100 wedi eu bwrw iddi, a thoddi yn llymed o'i mewn. Y ffordd y cysonai Mr. Clarke y weithred ryfedd hon hefo'i dipyn cydwybod oedd dweyd fod gan yr Huwsiaid ddigon o arian,

ac y rhoddai ail osod y gerddoriaeth waith am rai misoedd i rhyw brintar anghenus.

Hen ffirm anrhydeddus ydyw un Gwrecsam a chyhoeddodd fwy o lyfrau Cymraeg na'r un arall yn yr amser aeth heibio. Mr. Richard Hughes, taid y ddau berchenog presenol, a'i cychwynodd yn 1820. Ganwyd ef yn Adwy'r Clawdd yn 1794, ac yr oedd yn frawd i awdwr *Methodistiaeth Cymru*, sef y Parch. John Hughes, taid y ddau aelod Seneddol Cymreig Mr. Herbert Lewis a Mr. Herbert Roberts. Cafodd Mr. Richard Hughes addysg dda; yna gwasanaethodd am yspaid mewn ariandy yn Ngwrecsam. Oddiyno aeth i felin bapur Mr. Bromley yn Bersham, ar farwolaeth yr hwn y cymerodd efe ac un arall y felin; a dygwyd hi yn mlaen tan yr enw Hughes a Phillips. Yn mhen ychydig agorodd ystordy papur yn Bank Street, Gwrecsam; cynyddodd y fasnach, a symudwyd hi i le eangach yn Church Street. Yno y dechreuodd werthu llyfrau, ac ni bu yn foddlawn yn hir cyn dechreu argraphu a rhwymo llyfrau, yn ei le ei hun.

Yn 1837, penodwyd ef yn Gofrestrydd Priodasau Gwrecsam y cyntaf yn y dref a'r ardal wedi dyfod y ddeddf newydd i rym; ac yn Bost-feistr y dref yn 1840. Wedi oes faith, ddiwyd ac anrhydeddus iawn, bu Mr. Richard Hughes farw Ionawr 13, 1871, yn 77 mlwydd oed. Dyn lled fain oedd Mr. Richard Hughes yn gwisgo yn drwsiadus; araf ei ymadrodd, a phatrwm rhagorol o Biwritan synwyrlawn yn gwneud y goreu o'r ddau fyd. Yr oedd yn naturiol i wr mor ddwysfyfyriol droi i gyhoeddi llyfrau; ac i wr mor ddefosiynol gyhoeddi llyfrau crefyddol. Nid oes sicrwydd prûn oedd y llyfr cyntaf a gyhoeddodd, ond y mae genyf gopi o'r *Profiedydd Ysgrythyrol* wedi ei gyhoeddi ganddo yn 1834. Y gwaith trymaf a'r gwerthfawroccaf a ddaeth o wasg Gwrecsam, yn ystod teyrnasiad unbenaethol Mr.

Richard Hughes, ydoedd *Methodistiaeth Cymru* yr hwn a ymddangosodd yn rhanau ac wed'yn yn dair cyfrol drwchus.

Gwr gwahanol o ran pryd a gwedd oedd y mab Mr. Charles Hughes. Yr oedd efe yn drymach o gorph, ac o liw cringoch. Ni fuasech byth yn meddwl wrth ei olwg ei fod yn Fethodist, a dirwestwr cadarn. Gallasai dyeithryn dybied mai gwesttywr boddlon ydoedd yn mwynhau bywyd segur, moethus, a diyni; ond ni bu erioed yn nhref Gwrecsam gymeriad mwy ymdrechgar gyda phob achos gymerai mewn llaw ac effro gyda'i fasnach a'i argyhoeddiadau. Yr oedd yn galed yn ei fargen; efe a dalai y ddimai eithaf, ac a'i mynai. Cynyddodd y fasnach yn ddirfawr tra bu ef mewn cysylltiad a hi, sef, am tua 35 mlynedd; tra yr un pryd y llanwai bron bob swydd o ymddiried y medrai ei gyd-drefwyr ei hestyn iddo. Yr oedd yn aelod o Gynghor y Dref, yn Ynad Heddwch tros y Dref a Sir Ddinbych; cymerai ran flaenllaw yn y Cwmni Yswiriol, ac yr oedd yn un o hyrwyddwyr penaf y Reilffordd rhwng Gwrecsam a Bwcle.

Ganwyd ef yn 1823, a bu farw Mawrth 24, 1886, wedi treulio ei holl oes yn ei dref enedigol, oddieithr rhyw bedair blynedd y bu yn y Brifddinas yn egwyddorwas gyda'r llyfrwerthwyr, Mri. Simpkin Marshall a'u Cyf.

Colled drom i'r ffirm oedd marwolaeth cydmarol gynar Mr. Charles Hughes; ond bu ei feibion ar ei ol yn dra llwyddianus wrth ddilyn yn mlaen yn yr un drefn a'u tad. Codasant yr adeilad cyhoeddi llyfrau eangaf sydd yn Nghymru yn 1895, ac y mae Rhestr eu Llyfrau yn 32 tudalen a'u Cerddoriaeth yn 64 tudalen o hyd.

Wrth son am lwyddiant Mri. Hughes ni ddylem anghofio y fath help i hyny a fu gwasanaeth eu trafaeliwr Mr. Joseph Roberts. Yr oedd ef yn deall pob smic ar y fasnach; yn cynull ar ei deithiau farn y llyfrwerthwyr;

ac yn dychwelyd yn llwythog o awgrymiadau ar beth fyddai yn debyg o gymeryd, a pha beth yr oedd y wlad yn galw am dano. Ni fu ffyddlonach gweinidog na doethach cynghorwr i'w feistr erioed na Joseph Roberts.

Gwehydd yn Troi 'n Argraphydd.

Un o'r swyddfeydd argraphu hynotaf a godwyd yn yr holl fyd, oedd yr un a gododd Dafydd Hughes (*Eos Ial*) yn Llansantffraid-glyn-Dyfrdwy, ger Corwen, rywbryd tua chanol y ganrif hon. Gwehydd oedd Hughes wrth ei alwedigaeth, cnd aeth y grefft hono yn ddiwerth, ac efe a brynodd hen *dype* oedd wedi treulio'i ddefnyddioldeb wrth argraphu *Railway Guides* gan Mr. Thomas Thomas o Gaerlleon. Yr oedd Mr. Thomas wedi dedfrydu ei holl swyddfa i'r pentwr o lythyrenau drwg a eilw printars gyda llawer o briodoldeb yn "*hell*," a'u bwrw i'r lle anhyfryd hwnw blith draphlith, yn *clarendons, romans, italics, sanserifs, scripts, ac antiques;* ac o bob maintioli adnabyddus a defnyddiol mewn swyddfa o'r fath, yn *pearl, nonpareil, minion, brevier, bourgeois, long primer, pica, english*—y cwbl yn un gymysgfa 'ddidrefn, i ddisgwyl prynwr hen *dype* heibio gan yr hwn y cai rhyw ddwy geiniog y pwys am danynt i'w hail doddi a'u hail foldio. Yr oedd Hughes wedi rhyw haner penderfynu troi'n brintar, wrth ei fod eisoes yn fardd ac yn gallu sillebu yn lled gywir; ond nid oedd ganddo mor arian gofynol i brynu gwasg a llythyrenau newyddion. Eithr yn ffodus, pan ydoedd yn ei benbleth beth i'w wneud, clybu am y fargen debygasai ef oedd i'w chael yn Nghaer. Felly aeth ef a'i briod i weled Mr. Thomas, a phrynodd y pentwr yn ei grynswth. Yr oedd cryn amrywiaeth barn yn mysg printars yr oes hono faint o amser a gymerodd i'r bardd a'i briod i wneud rhyw lun o sortio ar y pentwr; dywedai rhai blwyddyn gron, eraill dwy flynedd, gan

ddygnu arni beunydd o fore i hwyr fel pe buasent yn pigo tatws. Prynasant hefyd, am bris hen haiarn, argraphwasg; ac yn ystod goruchwyliaeth y pigo, rhydodd y wasg, a bu agos iddynt hwythau'r ddau ddiwyd a llewygu o ddiffyg ymborth ac o dylodi. O'r diwedd modd bynag, gallwyd argraphu rhyw bedair neu bump o gerddi a charolau, ac aeth y cwpl oddeutu'r ffeiriau i'w canu a'u gwerthu; a gwerthiad rhagorol a gaed arnynt am geiniog yr un; a dychwelodd yr Eos a'r Eoses adref yn llwythog o bres. Cyfranai amryw bethau tuagat eu gwerthiant cyflym megys lleisiau aflafar y cantorion, eu diwyg daclus o'u cymharu a'r frawdoliaeth faledawl yr oeddynt newydd ymuno a hi, ac yn benaf oll, i'r dosbarth mwyaf goleuedig, y gymysgfa ysmala o *dype* a welid yn yr argraphwaith. Yr oedd yno dri neu bedwar rhywogaeth weithiau i'w cael yn yr un gair. Daeth llyfr chwe-cheiniog yn ddiweddarach allan o'r un swyddfa ac nid oedd hwnw ychwaith fawr iawn gwell o ran ei argraphwaith. Mae gan ein cyfaill llengar Mr. J. H. Davies, Cwrtmawr, un o leiaf o gynyrchion gwreiddiol, a phrin erbyn hyn, gwasg *Eos Ial.* Ond ni pharhaodd hoedl y ddau ond byr gyda'r alwedigaeth newydd; cawsant anwyd wrth grwydro'r wlad a sefyll yn eu hunfan i swgan-ganu mewn ffeiriau gwlybion, a chasglwyd hwy at eu pobl. A mwy na thebyg i'r hen wasg rydlyd a'r llythyrenau diffaeth yn fuan ddilyn eu perchenogion i gael eu hail foldio i ymddangos drachefn, ni a obeithiwn, mewn diwyg a chyflwr newydd a gwell nag erioed.

John Jones o Lanrwst.

Haner cant a thriugain mlynedd yn ol, nid oedd yr un printar yn Nghymru a'i enw yn fwy adnabyddus i'r werin Gymreig na Mr. John Jones o Lanrwst. Efe oedd prif argraphydd llenyddiaeth y marchnadoedd a'r ffeiriau,

megys Almanaciau, Cerddi, Carolau, &c. Sefydlydd y llinach lenyddol yr oedd John Jones yn ddolen mor amlwg ynddi ydoedd Dafydd Jones o Drefriw, ger Llanrwst. Efe a brynodd wasg argraphu Lewis Morys, Mon, pan flinodd y dyn doniol hwnw arni fel tegan, ac y gwisgodd ymaith y newydd-deb o ymhela a hi. Dyddorol fuasai cael gwybod beth a dalodd y rhychor o Drefriw am dani, canys pren ydoedd; a pha mor bell oddiwrthi y gellid clywed ei gwich pan yn gweithio. Hyd oni chodwyd hi yn Nghaergybi yn 1735 nid oedd yr un argraphwasg yn Ngogledd Cymru. Dau lyfryn hyd y gwyddis a ddaeth ohoni o Gaergybi, a'r pwysicaf o'r ddau, er nad oedd yntau ond 16 tudalen, ydoedd *Tlysau yr Hen Oesoedd*, ac un arall, *Annogaeth i Arqraphu Llyfrau Cymraeg*. Wedi dyfod i feddiant Dafydd Jones, bu yn fwy cynyrchiol, a throdd allan luaws mawr o bamphledau ac o gerddi. Ychydig oedd nifer y llythyrenau mewn cysylltiad a hi gan nad oes hanes iddi yn Nghaergybi na Threfriw, droi allan yr un llyfr o ddim maint—rhyw bedair tudalen ellid osod ohoni ar y tro. Ni chynyrchodd hi ddim am y gwyddis, o 1735 hyd 1777; o hyny hyd 1782 enw Dafydd Jones oedd ar ei chynyrchion; yn 1796 ac wed'yn ymddangosent yn ddienw. Yna daw enw Ismael Dafydd, mab Dafydd Jones, ac felly y parhaodd hyd 1817. Ni wnaeth Ismael Dafydd lawer i ddadblygu'r fasnach, ond yn 1817 dilynwyd yntau gan ei fab Mr. John Jones, yr hwn a symudodd y fasnach o Drefriw i Lanrwst. Eangodd terfynau y fasnach yn rhyfeddol tan ofal Mr. Jones, canys yr oedd yn fasnachydd craff, yn ddyn llawn o synwyr cyffredin cryf, heblaw yn fardd da, yn ddarllenwr mawr ac yn ddyfeisiwr cywrain. Pwrcasodd amryw argraphweisg o haiarn, i gymeryd lle yr hen *bress* pren; ond ni thaflodd yntau ychwaith i'r tan ond cadwodd ef fel hen grair, a chydag ef y mae yno hefyd lythyrenau wedi eu toddi mewn *moulds* o

waith ei law gywrain ef. Hwyrach mai y llyfr mwyaf a gyhoeddodd ac a argraphodd John Jones ydoedd yr argraphiad 5*s*. 6*c*. o Waith Goronwy Owen, wedi ei olygu gan ei fab y Parch. Edward Jones ficer Llanrhaiadr yn Mochnant. Llenor gwir alluog oedd y Parch. Edward Jones, a mab iddo ef ydyw'r Parch. G. Hartwell Jones o Nutfield, llenor ac ysgolhaig a gwladgarwr, sydd ni a obeithiwn i lanw cylch mwy pwysig eto yn ngwasanaeth ei wlad a'i genedl cyn bo hir.

Gwelir fod yma bum cenedlaeth o lenorion yn y teulu hwn; Hartwell Jones o Nutfield, ab Edward Jones o Llanrhaiadr, ab John Jones o Lanrwst, ab Ismael Dafydd o Drefriw, ab Dafydd Jones (Dewi Fardd) cyhoeddwr y *Dyddanwch Teuluaidd*; pum cenedlaeth nad wyf yn gwybod am eu cyffelyb mewn hanes.

Twm Capel Lulo.

Yr oedd llawer o fodau rhyfedd, fel y gallesid disgwyl, yn dêlio hefo John Jones, ond yr hynotaf ohonynt oll mae'n ddiau oedd Thomas Williams, neu fel yr adwaenid ef oreu yn Llanrwst,—tref nodedig am ei llysenwau—"yr hen Gapel Lul". Yr oedd "Capel Lul" wedi gwasanaethu ei amser yn y fyddin, a threulio blynyddoedd yn India, yn mysg y *blacks* chwedl yntau; ac adyn rhemp am ei gastiau a'i ddireidi ydoedd ar hyd ei oes. Ond wedi ei ddychweliad o'r fyddin i Lanrwst, daeth ryw dòn fawr o ddiwygiad tros y wlad, ac ysgubodd Twm i'r Seiat. Trodd yn ddirwestwr selog, ac yn llyfrwerthwr bywiog yn y ffeiriau er na fedrai ddarllen ond y nesaf peth i ddim. Mawr fyddai ei drybini yn fynych gyda gweilch drwg yn ei brofocio. "Oes gynoch chi gopi o lyfr Aristotl, Tomos Williams," ebe haid o hogiau diffaeth wrtho yn ffair Bangor ryw dro. "Nag oes, hogia drwg; blaw hyny, nid Haristotl ôdd o,—Henry Stottle oedd i enw fo." "Dowch

Tomos Williams, mae gynon ni 2*s*. 6*c*. i dalu am dano fo," ac wedi hir grefu, dygai'r hen wr y trysor allan o waelod ei fasged; a chynted y gwelent y llyfr, rhedai'r gweilch i ffwrdd nerth eu traed tan waeddi "Ddeydwn ni wrth bobl y capel".

Rywsut yr oedd "yr hen Gapel Lul" wedi rhedeg i ddyled Mr. John Jones yn lled ddyfn, ac yntau yn gwasgu tipyn arno, ac yn ei fygwth o fregedd. Yn mhen draw ei ardd yr oedd gan yr argraphydd dy hâf, lle yr elai ar dywydd braf i gael mygyn a chynthun ar ol cinio. Yr oedd "yr hen Gapel Lul" gyfrwys yn gwybod am hyn; ac aeth yntau i gynal gweddi ddirgel i'r cae oedd am y gwrych a'r ardd. Llefarai yn ddigon uchel nid yn unig i'r Nefoedd ei glywed, ond hefyd i'r ysmygydd yn y ty hâf. Addefai, yn mysg amryw gamweddau erail, ei fod yn nyled John Jones y Printiwr am lyfrau. "Dyn ffeind iawn, fel y gwyddost Ti, Arglwydd mawr ydi Mr. Jones, a mi fydd 'yr hen Gapel Lul', fel y gwyddost Ti, yn sicr o dalu pob dime i Mr. Jones y tro nesa y caiff o'i bension"; ac felly'n mlaen am haner awr, nes oedd y gwrandawr tros y clawdd yn barod i faddeu iddo'r ddyled, a rhoi presant o lyfr "Henry Stottle" iddo yn y fargen, am ei gyfrwysdra.

John Ross.

Efe oedd prif argraphydd llyfrau Cymraeg y ganrif ddiweddaf. Ychydig o'i hanes sydd ar gael. Dywed Gwilym Lleyn mai Ysgotiad ydoedd, iddo dreulio saith mlynedd fel arolygydd swyddfa argraphu fawr yn Llundain, a gorfod ffoi oddiyno am argraphu rhywbeth rhy ryddfrydig. Ymsefydlodd yn Nghaerfyrddin. Ceir y cofnod cyntaf am dano yn *Llyfryddiaeth y Cymry* y flwyddyn 1743 a'r olaf yn 1799. Felly bu wrth y gwaith am 56 mlynedd. Rhaid ei fod yn bur hen yn marw, yr hyn a gymerodd le, yn nhyb Gwilym Lleyn, cyn diwedd y

ganrif; canys dyfyna yr un awdurdod o'r *British Magazine* i'w weddw farw yn Ionawr 1800 yn 100 mlwydd oed. Gwelais sylwadau yn rhywle, yn dadleu fod dau John Ross, tad a mab; ac y mae hyny yn ddigon posibl, gan na chyhoeddwyd yr un llyfr tan yr enw rhwng 1749 a 1763 ac y mae bron yn anhygoel i'r un hoedl fasnachol estyn cyhyd a 55 mlynedd, er nad yn anmhosibl.

Pa fodd bynag dyn neu ddeu-ddyn a wnaeth fawr wasanaeth i lenyddiaeth Cymru oedd John Ross; a chawsant yr anrhydedd o argraphu y rhan fwyaf o lyfrau Williams o Bantycelyn, Morgan Rhys a Pheter Williams yr Esboniwr, ac nid anrhydedd bach mo hyny. Mae'n debyg mai anturiaeth benaf llenyddiaeth Gymraeg y ddeunawfed ganrif ydoedd, Bibl Teuluaidd Peter Williams. Cynwysai yr *Apocrypha* a *Salmau Cân* Edmwnd Prys, ond yr oedd hefyd i'w gael heb yr *Apocrypha*. Dyma ei wynebddalen yn llawn, "*Y Beibl Sanctaidd; sef yr Hen Destament a'r Newydd, gyda Nodau a Sylwadau ar bob Pennod. Caerfyrddin, argraffwyd dros y Parch. Peter Williams. Gan John Ross. 1770.*" Cyfrol 4plyg drwchus ydoedd; argraphwyd 8000 o gopiau; a gwerthid hwy am bunt yr un. O anghenrheidrwydd i droi llyfr mor fawr allan rhaid fod gan John Ross swyddfa gref, nifer luosog o weithwyr, ac amrywiaeth a swm mawr o lythyrenau. Troai ei waith allan yn lan a destlus, a'r sillebiaeth yn bobpeth ellid ddymuno. Yr oedd Ross yn aelod o Eglwys yr Annibynwyr yn Heol Awst, ac y mae ei enw wrth yr alwad a roddodd yr Eglwys hono yn Rhagfyr 1791 i'r Parch. David Peter i ddyfod yno yn weinidog. Ond fel lluaws o brintars cynt a chwedyn byddai'n pechu'n fynych y pechod a briodolir y rhan amlaf i gryddion a theilwriaid, sef tor-addewid. Poenwyd yr hen Gristion tawelfryd Peter Williams lawer gan y ffaeledd hwn ynddo. Yr oedd yr Esboniwr yn byw rai milldiroedd o Gaer-

fyrddin, ac elai yno i ddarllen y proflenni ar gefn ei ebolyn bychan; ac yn aml cai siwrnai seithug—y *proof* ddim yn barod, ond yn siwr o fod y diwrnod ar diwrnod—siomiant wed'yn ac felly o dro i dro nes yr ocheneidiai ei enaid, ac y dywedodd wrth ei briod ar ol dychwelyd o un o'r teithiau siomedig hyn, "fod digon o ras yn yr Efengyl i gadw pob math o bechadur ond printar". Nid oedd Mr. Ross ychwaith heb ei ofidiau; yn codi'n benaf oddiar waith rhyw benbyliaid afreolaidd, yn proffesu eu bod yn argraphwyr pan nad oeddynt ond teilwriaid go sal hwyrach, ac yn codi swyddfeydd gwrthwynebol gan dwyllo'r cyhoedd. Yn yr *imprint* ar wynebddalen "Ffarwel weledig, Groesaw anweledig bethau" o waith Williams Pantycelyn, chwanegir y geiriau rhybuddiol a ganlyn gan Mr. Ross "Yr unig Argraphydd yn y Parthau hyn a ddygwyd i fynu yn rheolaidd i'r Gelfyddyd honno." Mae llawer o'r natur ddynol yn mhrintars pob gwlad ac oes, dyweded pobl a fynant! Ond a'i gymeryd at ei gilydd, yr wyf yn credu fod John Ross yn y dosbarth goreu ohonynt; canys wrth ein ffrwythau yr adnabyddir ni; ac efe a gyhoeddodd yn ol y *Llyfryddiaeth* tua 170 o lyfrau Cymraeg, a llyfrau da a phur yn unig a gyhoeddodd, mewn oes pan oedd cyhoeddi pob llyfr felly yn fendith i gymdeithas, ac yn foddion dyrchafiad moesol a chrefyddol, cystal ag yn golled arianol drom i'r cyhoeddwr.

Rees o Lanymddyfri.

Nid oes amser ar hyn o bryd i gyfeirio at amryw agraphwyr, hen a diweddar, y gallwn ddweyd rhai pethau am danynt na fuont hyd yn hyn yn ngoleuni dydd. Treuliais ddeuddydd tua 21 mlynedd yn ol, gyda Mr. William Rees, Llanymddyfri. Efe oedd tywysog yr argraphwyr Cymreig. Yr oedd yn foneddwr o gyfoeth, ac yn ymddigrifo yn ei grefft. Cyhoeddodd amryw lyfrau na chafodd, ac na ddisgwyliodd,

ond colled arianol oddiwrthynt; ac fe gollodd ganoedd os nad miloedd o bunnau. Yr oedd boneddigion eraill yn Nyffryn Towy yr un amser, yn ddiau yn colli mwy nag yntau trwy gadw cŵn hela, a gwleddoedd, a rhialtwch afradus o'r fath. Heddyw nid oes gymaint a'u henwau ar gael; eu cŵn, eu gwleddoedd, a'u bloddest, a hwy eu hunain wedi suddo i lynclyn ebargofiant! Ond am yr hen foneddwr-argraphydd o'r Tonn ger Llanymddyfri, edrych wch ar ei argraphiad o'r *Mabinogion*, o *Heraldic* Visitations Lewis Dwnn, a degau o lyfrau eraill, a dangoswch eu hharddac fel argraphwaith os gellwch. Yr oedd Mr. Rees wedi ei brentisio yn argraphydd, dysgodd ei grefft yn drwyadl,—yr oedd yn ei charu tra fu byw, ac yn ymfalchio yn ei dadblygiad. Mr. Rees oedd noddwr Brutus; efe a gyhoeddai'r *Haul*, misolyn doniol yn proffesu gwasanaethu yr Eglwys, ond yn cael ei gadw'n mlaen, er colled i'r cyhoeddwr, yn benaf er mwyn i'r braddug mwyaf hyawdl a ysgrifenodd Gymraeg erioed, gyhoeddi ei *Fugeiliaid Eppynt*, a doniolwch o'r fath.

Dyddan fuasai son am Hugh Humphreys yr hwn a gyhoeddodd lawer o lyfrau da yn gymysg a llawer o ysbwrial: yr oedd swyddfa Mr. Humfreys fel ffynon yn rhoi allan ddyfroedd melus a chwerw; ac

Am P. M. Evans o Dreffynon, *imprint* yr hwn a fu ar y *Drysorfa* a'r *Traethodydd* a *Thrysorfa'r Plant* am gynifer o flynyddau—swyddfa oedd hon wedi ei himpio a swyddfa Evan a John Lloyd o'r Wyddgrug, cyhoeddwyr *Cronicl yr Oes*, yr ymgais gyntaf neu agos y gyntaf a wnaed i sefydlu y newyddiadur yn y Gymraeg; a'r John Lloyd a fu yn cyhoeddi yr *Amserau* yn Lerpwl am gynifer o flynyddau.

Mor ddymunol hefyd fuasai ugain munud yn nghwmni Joseph Harris o Abertawe, a'i fachgen talentog Ieuan Ddu. Dysgodd Ieuan Ddu y grefft ohono ei hun, gweithiodd yn galed gyda chysodi *Seren Gomer* i'w dad, ac ofnir i hyny

fyrhau ei oes fer, a'i restru yn mhlith y "telynau a dorwyd yn gynar." Y mae'r Farwnad odidog a ganodd ei dad torcalonus ar ei ol, yn golofn na ddiflana i'w goffadwriaeth.

Da fuasai ychydig grybwyllion am Humphreys o Gaernarfon, Spurrell o Gaerfyrddin, Mendus Jones (yr hwn a fu farw ddeufis yn ol yn 84 mlwydd oed)—yr oeddwn yn adwaen y tri yn dda,—neu i fyned ganrif yn ol, am yr hen Almanacwyr, Thomas Jones, Sion Prys, ac eraill yn nghyda'u tywysog Sion Robert Lewis o Gaergybi a'i hiliogaeth: am Sion Rhydderch, Thomas Durston, Stafford Prys, John Daniel, Robert Marsh, Oliver, Ifan a Rhys Thomas ac eraill, ac eraill,

Hen oeswyr, ddiflanasant
Fal ewyn nos i fol nant

ys dywed Cynddelw am fugeiliaid Berwyn. Ond fel y dywed Caledfryn am un o wyr y wasg:—

Bydd e' fel yn byw eilwaith
Byw'n ei oes, a byw'n ei waith.

ERRATA.

P. 100. line 25, *for* "ttwyddiant", *read* "llwyddiant".
P. 112, „ 8, *for* "edrych", *read* "edrych-".
„ „ 9, *for* "*Heraldic* Visitations", *read* "*Heraldic Visitations*".
„ „ 11, *for* "hharddac", *read* "harddach".
„ „ 22, *for* "Humfreys", *read* "Humphreys".

G. Simpson, Printer, Devizes.

Cymmrodorion Record Series.

THE idea of the publication of Welsh Records, which had for some time occupied the thoughts of leading Welsh Scholars, took a definite and practical shape at the meeting of the Cymmrodorion Section of the National Eisteddfod held at Brecon in 1889. In the papers which were read at that meeting it was shown that a vast quantity of material necessary for understanding the history of Wales still remained buried in public and private Libraries, and also that such of the Welsh Chronicles as had been given to the world had been edited in a manner which had not fulfilled the requirements of modern scholarship.

As it appeared that the Government declined to undertake any further publication of purely Welsh Records, it was suggested by Sir John Williams that the Council of the Cymmrodorion Society should take the work in hand, and establish a separate fund for that purpose.

The Council are of opinion that a work of this magnitude cannot be left to private enterprise, although they thankfully acknowledge the indebtedness of all Welshmen to such men as Mr. G. T. Clark of Talygarn, the Rev. Canon Silvan Evans, Mr. J. Gwenogfryn Evans, Mr. Owen Edwards, Mr. Egerton Phillimore, and Professor John Rhys, and they fully appreciate the valuable work done by members of the various Antiquarian Societies.

Private enterprise has enabled the Council to issue, without cost to the Society, the first number of the Series which they have undertaken. The edition of *Owen's Pembrokeshire*, two parts of which have already been issued, is the result to Mr. Henry Owen—a member of the Society's Council - of long and arduous labour, and of an expenditure of a sum of money which would enable any patriotic Welshman who follows that example to present similar numbers of the proposed Series to his countrymen.

The second number of the Series consists of Records from the Ruthin Court Rolls (A.D. 1294-5), edited by Mr. R. Arthur Roberts, of the Public Record Office. *A Catalogue of the Welsh Manuscripts in the British Museum*; a transcript of *The Black Book of St. David's*, and new editions of *Nennius* and *Gildas* are in course of preparation.

In the future numbers of the Series will be published, from public or private MSS., with Introductions and Notes by competent scholars, such Records as will throw light on some period of Welsh History. These publications will, the Council trust, go far to remove from the Principality the dishonour of being the only nation in Europe which is without anything approaching to a scientific history.

It is hoped to issue annually one number of the Series. The cost of each number will, it is anticipated, be about £250. To ensure a continuity of publication, it is necessary to form a Permanent Capital Fund, and this the Society of Cymmrodorion have resolved to do. This Fund, of which Sir John Williams, Bart., Sir W. Thomas Lewis, Bart., and Mr. Henry Owen, F.S.A., are the Trustees, will be under the control of the Council, but will be kept separate from the general fund of the Society. It will be applicable solely to the purposes herein designated, and an account of receipts and payments will be submitted to each contributor.

Towards the expenses of publication the Council have found themselves in a position to set aside, from time to time, from the Society's General Fund the sum of £150, a contribution which they trust a large accession of members to the ranks of the Society will speedily enable them to augment.

The Council confidently appeal to all Welshmen for sympathy and help in this really national enterprise. Welshmen are proverbially proud of the antiquities of their land. To place the record of these antiquities within the reach of every Welsh student in an accurate and intelligible form, and to enable him to understand the growth of the national and individual life, is a work which should unite all Welshmen for the benefit of their countrymen, and for the honour of Wales.

BUTE, *President*.
E. VINCENT EVANS, *Secretary*.

CYMMRODORION LIBRARY,
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***** Cheques may be sent to E. VINCENT EVANS, Secretary to the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion, 64, Chancery Lane, W.C., crossed "London Joint Stock Bank, Limited, to the credit of the Cymmrodorion Record Series Fund."**

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FOR THE ENCOURAGEMENT OF

Literature, Science, and Art as connected with Wales.

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THE

TRANSACTIONS

OF

THE HONOURABLE

SOCIETY OF CYMMRODORION.

SESSION 1899 1900.

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CONTENTS.

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL FOR 1899-1900 v

STATEMENT OF RECEIPTS AND PAYMENTS FOR 1899-1900 ... xi

FRONTISPIECE: Portrait of the Right Hon. the Marquess of Bute, K.T., late President of the Society.

Welsh Cave Legends. By Professor RHYS, LL.D. ... 1

Owain Lawgoch—Yeuain de Galles. By Mr. EDWARD OWEN, of Gray's Inn (with *Facsimile*) 6

Canu Penillion. By the Rev. W. H. WILLIAMS (*Watcyn Wyn*), with Musical Illustrations by *Eos Dâr* ... 106

Wales and the Coming of the Normans (1039—1093). By Professor J. E. LLOYD, M.A., University College, Bangor 122

REPORT

OF

THE COUNCIL OF THE

Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion,

For the Year ending November 9th, 1900.

PRESENTED TO THE ANNUAL MEETING HELD AT THE SOCIETY'S ROOMS, ON THURSDAY, THE 22ND OF NOVEMBER, 1900.

THE Council, in presenting their Annual Report to the members of the Society, desire, at the outset, to express their deep sorrow at the heavy loss recently sustained by them through the death of their President, the Most Hon. the Marquess of Bute. During the ten years of his Presidency, Lord Bute took a keen personal interest in the aims and work of the Cymmrodorion. Himself an accomplished and a devoted student of Celtic Literature, he was ever in close touch with the objects of this Society for the furtherance of the study of the antiquities, the history, and the language of Wales. His constant support of every movement for the intellectual advancement of the Principality; his munificent contributions in aid of literary and historical research; above all, his active personal work in this behalf, have won for him the admiration, the respect, and the affection of all Cymmrodorion. With the *Transactions*, which will shortly be issued, the Council

are happy to be in a position to include an excellent portrait of the late President.

Earlier in the year the Society had to mourn the loss of one of its earliest members, Principal Edwards, of the Theological College, Bala, one who, as a great preacher and a learned divine, as well as an ardent educationalist, has left his mark deep on the life of the Principality.

Again only last month the Society lost a young and distinguished member, who may be said literally to have laid down his life on the altar of patriotic duty. Professor Alfred Hughes, the administrator of the Welsh Hospital in South Africa, deserves well of his country and of this Society, if it were only for the example he gave of a strong and unbending devotion to duty. In other fields he had many claims to recognition on which it is not now necessary to dwell.

South Africa is responsible for another loss, that of one of our Vice-Presidents, the late Lord Kensington, who fell in the war. Our Obituary List further includes the names of Mr. Stephen Williams, Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries, to whom this Society was indebted for interesting papers on the Monasteries of Strata Florida and Cwm-Hir; Mr. Bernard Quaritch, the well-known bibliophile; the Rev. T. Lloyd Phillips, of Beckenham; Mr. Charles Evans Vaughan, the architect of several of our London public buildings; Principal Williams, of the New Veterinary College, Edinburgh; and of Miss Beata Lloyd Francis, a Welsh vocalist of considerable distinction.

The Council are pleased to report an accession of 41 new members to the Society during the past year, but having regard to the losses already referred to, they would impress upon the Society's friends the need for constant efforts to replenish its numbers and to increase its influence.

During the year the following meetings were held in London :—

1899.

November 30.—ANNUAL MEETING OF THE MEMBERS.

ANNUAL DINNER postponed, owing to the War in South Africa.

1900.

February 7.—Paper on "Welsh Cave Legends," by Professor Rhys, LL.D.

March 21.—Paper on "Owen Lawgoch," by Mr. Edward Owen, of Gray's Inn.

April 11.—Paper on "Pennillion & Penillion Singing," by Rev. W. H. Williams (*Watcyn Wyn*), with Musical Illustrations by *Eos Dâr*.

May 9.—Paper on "Wales and the Norman Conquest," by Professor J. E. Lloyd, M.A., University College, Bangor.

July 4.—ANNUAL CONVERSAZIONE, at the Grafton Galleries.

In Liverpool, in connection with the National Eisteddfod of Wales :—

September 17th and 19th, under the presidency of the Right Hon. the Lord Mayor of Liverpool and the Hon. Geo. T. Kenyon, Deputy Chancellor of the University of Wales.—Papers on "The Defects of Technical Education in Wales," by Principal Reichel, University College of North Wales; Mr. Owen Owen, M.A., Chief Inspector, Central Welsh Board; and Mr. Lewis J. Roberts, M.A., H. M. Inspector of Schools; followed by a Discussion, to which Mr. Humphreys Owen, M.P., President of the Welsh Central Board; Mr. J. Herbert Roberts, M.P.; Professor J. E. Lloyd, M.A.; the Rev. John Williams; Mr. Thomas Williams, J.P.; the Rev. Griffith Ellis, M.A., and others, contributed.

It may be mentioned in connection with these meetings that the discussion of the needs of Technical Education, and the want of funds, led directly to the munificent offer of £50,000 (subject to certain conditions) which was made known at the Liverpool Eisteddfod by Mr. Alfred L. Jones. The hope is entertained that some means may be found either to meet or to modify the conditions men-

tioned, so as to make Mr. Jones' offer available for the object in view.

The arrangements for the coming Session include Papers by Mr. W. Goscombe John, A.R.A., on "Art and Handicraft in Wales"; Mr. Thomas Darlington, H. M. Inspector of Schools, on a subject connected with the teaching of the Welsh Language; Professor J. Morris Jones, on "The Art of Welsh Poetry" (Celfyddyd Barddoniaeth Gymreig); Mr. J. W. Willis-Bund, F.S.A., on "Archbishop Peckham and the Conquest of Wales"; and by Mr. Hubert Hall, Director of the Royal Historical Society, on "The Diplomatics of Welsh Records".

The Council have pleasure in announcing that the members of the Society will dine together on the 10th of December, 1900, at the Whitehall Rooms, Hôtel Mètropole, under the Presidency of Dr. Isambard Owen, M.A., Senior Deputy Chancellor of the University of Wales.

During the year the following Publications have been issued to members, viz.:—

1. *The Transactions* for the Session 1898-99, containing the following Papers, in addition to the Report of the Council and the Statement of Receipts and Payments, viz.:—"Early Fortifications in Wales," by the Rev. S. Baring-Gould, M.A.; "Early Social Life in Wales," by Mr. D. Brynmor-Jones, Q.C., M.P.; a preliminary Paper on "Geoffrey of Monmouth," by Professor W. Lewis Jones, M.A.; and "Argraphwyr, Cyhoeddwyr, a Llyfrwerthwyr Cymru," by Mr. Isaac Foulkes.
2. *Y Cymmrodor*, Vol. XIII, containing "Vicar Prichard: a Study in Welsh Bibliography," by Mr. John Ballinger; a "Collation of Rees' *Lives of the Cambro-British Saints*, by Professor Kuno Meyer, Ph.D.; "Further Notes on the Court of the Marches," by Mr. D. Lleufer Thomas, with Original Documents; and a "Note on the Jesus College Peithynen", by Professor Rhys.
3. Part i of *A Catalogue of the Manuscripts relating to Wales in the British Museum* (being No. 4 of the Cymmrodorion Record Series), edited by Mr. Edward Owen, of Gray's Inn.

In addition, there are nearly ready for issue:—

The Transactions for the Session 1899-1900, containing Papers by Principal Rhys, LL.D., Mr. Edward Owen, the Rev. W. H. Williams (*Watcyn Wyn*), and Professor J. E. Lloyd, M.A.

Y *Cymmrodor*, Vol. XIV, containing an Essay on the Administration of English Law in Wales and the Marches, by Dr. Henry Owen; a Paper on The Broughtons of Marchwiel, by Mr. Alfred Neobard Palmer; a Life of St. Cybi, by the Rev. S. Baring-Gould, M.A.; a Note on Salesbury's Dictionary and the King's License, and a Welsh Love Song of the 16th Century, supplied by Mr. J. H. Davies, M.A.; the text and translation of an Irish MS. on The Expulsion of the Dessi, with Introductory Notes, by Professor Kuno Meyer; and "Side Lights on Welsh Jacobitism," by Mr. J. Arthur Price, B.A.

The following are in the Press:—

Part ii of *The Writings of Gildas*, edited by the Rev. Professor Hugh Williams; and

Part ii of *The Catalogue of MSS. relating to Wales in the British Museum*, compiled by Mr. Edward Owen,

both of which may be expected early in the ensuing year, and the following are in a forward state of preparation:—

The Black Book of St. David's, edited by Mr. J. W. Willis-Bund, F.S.A., and a new edition of

Geoffrey of Monmouth, based on the Bern text, edited by Professor W. Lewis Jones, M.A.

With reference to the last mentioned publications, the Council beg to remind the members that they are issued at the cost of the Cymmrodorion Record Series Fund. Donations to this fund are invited. The Trustees are Sir John Williams, Bart., Sir W. Thomas Lewis, Bart., and Dr. Henry Owen, and particulars can be obtained from the Secretary to the Society.

The following presents received for the Library were duly acknowledged:—

Byegones, presented by Messrs. Woodall, Minshall, & Co.

The Calendar of the University College of North Wales, presented by the Registrar.

THE MOST HON. THE MARQUESS OF BUTE, K.T.

(Born Sept. 12, 1847; died Oct. 9, 1900.)

President of the Hon. Society of Cymmrodorion, 1891–1900.

Portrait Reproduced from "The Sphere;" Photograph by Messrs. Russell and Son.

UNIV. OF MICH.

TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion.

SESSION 1899-1900.

PROFESSOR RHYS, LL.D., ON WELSH CAVE LEGENDS AND THE STORY OF OWEN LAWGOCH.

At the meeting of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion, held on Wednesday, February 7th, 1900,[1] Professor Rhys read extracts from his forthcoming book on *Celtic Folklore*, especially a chapter entitled "Welsh Cave Legends", in which he called attention to a certain Owen Lawgoch or "Owen of the Red Hand", who, with his men, is represented sleeping in a cave in South Wales until the bell of destiny rings to wake him to sally forth to conquer. Then Professor Rhys proceeded to mention certain so-called prophecies about Owen, and he included in his remarks concerning him the following passages:—

"But who was Owen Lawgoch, if there ever was such a man? Such a man there was undoubtedly, for we read in one of the documents printed in the miscellaneous volume commonly known as the *Record of Carnarvon*, that at a

[1] Held at 20, Hanover Square. Chairman, Mr. G. Laurence Gomme, F.S.A.

court held at Conway in the forty-fourth year of Edward III, a certain Gruffyd Says was adjudged to forfeit all the lands which he held in Anglesey to the Prince of Wales, who was at that time no other than Edward the Black Prince, for the reason that the said Gruffyd had been an adherent of Owen—*adherens fuisset Owino Lawegogh (or Lawgogh) inimico et proditori predicti domini Principis et de consilio predicti Owyni ad mouendam guerram in Wallia contra predictum dominum Principem.*[1] How long previously it had been attempted to begin a war on behalf of this Owen Lawgoch one cannot say, but it so happens that at this time there was a captain called Yeuwains, Yewains or Yvain de Galles—"Owen of Wales", fighting on the French side against the English in Edward's continental wars. Froissart in his *Chronicles* has a great deal to say of him, for he distinguished himself greatly on various critical occasions. From the historian's narrative one finds that Owen had escaped when a boy to the court of Philip VI of France, who received him with great favour, and had him educated with his own nephews. Froissart's account of him is, that the King of England, Edward III, had slain his father and given his lordship and principality to his own son the Prince of Wales; and Froissart gives Owen's father's name twice as *Aymon*, which should mean *Edmond*, unless the name intended may have been rather *Einion*. However that may have been, Owen was engaged in the battle of Poictiers in 1356, and when peace was made he went to serve in Lombardy; but when war between England and France broke out again, he returned to France. He sometimes fought on sea and sometimes on land, but he was always entrusted by the French king, who was now Charles V, with im-

[1] *Record of Carnarvon*, p. 133, to which attention was called in the *Report of the Welsh Land Commission*, p. 648.

portant commands. Thus, in 1372, he was placed at the head of a flotilla with 3,000 men, and ordered to operate against the English: he made a descent on the Isle of Guernsey, and while there besieging the castle of Cornet he was charged by the King of France to sail to Spain to invite the King of Castille to send his fleet again to help in the attack on La Rochelle. Whilst staying at Santander the Earl of Pembroke was brought thither, having been taken prisoner in the course of the destruction of the English fleet before La Rochelle. Owen, on seeing the Earl of Pembroke, asks him with bitterness if he is come there to do him homage for his land, of which he had taken possession in Wales. He threatens to avenge himself on him as soon as he can; and also on the Earl of Hereford and Edward Spencer, for it was by the fathers of those three men, he said, his own father had been betrayed to death. Edward III died in 1377, and the Black Prince had died shortly before. Owen survived them both, and was actively engaged in the siege of Mortagne sur Mer in Poitou, when he was assassinated by one Lamb, who had insinuated himself into his service and confidence, partly by pretending to bring him news about his native land, and telling him that all Wales was longing to have him back to be the lord and master of his country—*et lui fist acroire que toute li terre de Gales le desiroient mout à ravoir à seigneur*. So Owen fell in the year 1378, and was buried at the church of Saint-Léger, while Lamb returned to the English to receive his reward.[1] When

[1] In Lord Berners' translation of Froissart's *Chronicles* (London, 1812) Owen is mostly called *Yuan* or *Evan* of Wales, as if anybody could even glance at the romances without finding that Owen ab Urien, for instance, became in French *Ywains* (or *Ivains*) *le fils Urien*, in the nominative, and *Ywain* or *Ivain* in régime. Thomas Johnes, of Hafod, whose translation was published in 1803-6, betrays the same ignorance; but he had the excuse of being himself a Welshman.

this happened Owen's namesake, Owen Glyndwr, was nearly thirty years of age. The latter was eventually to assert with varying fortune on many fields of battle in this country the claims of the elder Owen ; and the elder Owen, by virtue of his memory in France, would seem to have rendered it easy for the younger Owen to enter on friendly relations with the French court of his day.

"Now as to Yvain de Galles, the Rev. Thomas Price (*Carnhuanawc*), in his *Hanes Cymru* (*History of Wales*), p. 737, devotes a couple of pages to Froissart's account of him, and he points out that Angharad Llwyd in her *Hanes Tylwyth Gwydir* (*History of the Gwydir Family*), had shown him to have been Owen ab Thomas ab Rhodri ab Gruffyd, a brother of Llewelyn, the last native prince of Wales. The names, among other things, form a difficulty. Why did Froissart call his father Aymon? It is clear that a more searching study of Welsh pedigrees and other documents, including those at the Record Office, has to be made before Owen can be satisfactorily placed in point of succession. For that he was in the right line to succeed the native princes of Wales is suggested both by the eagerness with which all Wales was represented as looking to his return to be the lord of the country, and by the opening words of Froissart in describing what he had been robbed of by Edward III, as being both lordship and principality,—*la Signourie et princeté*. Be that as it may, there is, it seems to me, little doubt that Yvain de Galles was no other than the Owen Lawgoch, whose adherent Gruffyd Says was deprived of his land and property in the latter part of Edward's reign. In the next place there is hardly room for doubt, that the Owen Lawgoch here referred to was the same man whom the *baledwyr*, in their jumble of prophecies, intended to be Henry the Ninth, that is to say

the Welsh successor to the last Tudor King, Henry VIII, and that he was at the same time the hero of the cave legends of divers parts of the Principality, especially South Wales as already indicated."

OWAIN LAWGOCH—YEUAIN DE GALLES:

SOME FACTS AND SUGGESTIONS.[1]

BY

EDWARD OWEN.

In the lecture upon "Welsh Cave Legends," an extract from which immediately precedes the present contribution, Principal Rhys related several interesting folk stories which are concerned with a personage called Owen or Owain Lawgoch; and, the connexion between romance and reality then forming part of the learned Principal's theme, he followed the stories with the question: "Who was Owen Lawgoch, if there ever was such a man?" Dr. Rhys, indeed, proceeded to reply to his own query just so far as was necessary for his immediate purpose. He gave an extract from the *Record of Caernarvon*, which names a certain Owain Lawgoch as having proved a traitor to King Edward

[1] Read before the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion at 20, Hanover Square, on Wednesday, the 21st of March, 1900; Chairman, Principal Rhys, LL.D.

The paper printed above, though following generally the lecture given before the Society, differs considerably from it. It may be well to explain that a correspondence having ensued between Principal Rhys and the author upon the former's references to Owain Lawgoch and Yeuain de Galles in his lecture to the Hon. Society of Cymmrodorion on the 7th February previously, the present writer was reluctantly prevailed upon to follow Principal Rhys's paper, which had dealt with Owain as a hero of folklore, with a paper which should deal with him as a strictly historical personage. The evidence then available for that purpose being limited almost entirely, for Owain, to the entry in the record best known under its printed title of the *Record of Caernarvon* (Record Commissioners, 1838), and, for

the Third; he next quoted the French chronicler Froissart's account of the doings of a knight in the French service, named Yeuain de Galles; he further referred to the identification of Owen Lawgoch with Yeuain de Galles by Miss Angharad Llwyd, in her edition of Sir John Wynne's *History of the Gwydir Family* (1827); and he finally concluded that "there is little doubt that Yvain de Galles was no other than Owen Lawgoch."

Much of the reasoning upon which that conclusion was founded was admittedly conjectural. The conclusion seemed to be the true one, but the facts upon which it was based were too few, and their connexion too slender, to afford perfect satisfaction to the historian. It is our business to clear up some, if not all, of the doubts that existed.

The exact position of research upon the subject has been indicated, and almost exhausted, in the penultimate

Yeuain, to the chronicles of Froissart, it followed that little more could be done in the short period between the dates of the two lectures than to draw together those scattered notices, and to endeavour to connect them by means of a few entries in the calendars of the public records. Indeed, the sadly incomplete paper presented to the Society upon the 21st March can hardly be described as "read", since a good deal of it existed only in the form of rough notes. But it was manifest that the subject contained great possibilities, for there was here a great Welshman whose name and career were almost unknown to his countrymen. Researches have, therefore, been made amongst the public records and other manuscript depositories, with results which have been embodied in the paper printed above. The success would probably have been greater had the writer been able, as he had intended to do before the paper went to print, to visit the record depositories of Paris. But it is hoped that, while Owain must ever continue an attractive figure in Welsh romance, sufficient has been done to restore him to the more solid sphere of the historian.

I have to thank my friend Mr. J. H. Davies, for kindly assistance, consisting as much of fresh material towards the history of Owain as of criticism, constructive as well as destructive, all of which I have been glad to receive, and have endeavoured to profit by.

paragraph; and what may be termed its bibliography is not extensive. Miss Angharad Llwyd's note is repeated in Mr. Askew Roberts's edition of the *History of the Gwydir Family*, together with a supplementary note of the late Mr. W. W. E. Wynne, of Peniarth, which will be alluded to later. The story of Yeuain de Galles told by Froissart is summarised in Price's *Hanes Cymru*, and later compilations of Welsh history. A few facts respecting Yeuain appeared in a couple of early numbers of the *Archæologia Cambrensis*, and one or two stray notes upon him have been printed in *Bye-gones*. But in no instance has the identification of Owain Lawgoch with Yeuain de Galles been carried further than the point at which it was left by Miss Angharad Llwyd,[1] and not a single historical student has made a serious effort to throw light upon one of the most interesting characters in Welsh history.

The problem before us is two-fold—

(*a*) Is the Owain Lawgoch of Wales the same personage as the Yeuain de Galles of Froissart?

(*b*) Who was Yeuain de Galles?

It will be convenient to commence our enquiry by taking the first historic notice of Owain, and to follow it by Froissart's account of the career and death of Yeuain. This method will serve not only to mark the alpha and omega of Owain's recorded career (assuming, for a moment, his identity with Yeuain), but will also place before

[1] All the facts above mentioned are brought together in an interesting manner in a work entitled *Cantref Meirionydd* (Dolgellau, 1890), written by Mr. Robert Prys Morris, and published after his death. Mr. Morris makes one step in advance of Miss Angharad Llwyd, inasmuch as he quotes the entry relating to Owain in the *Record of Caernarvon*. That volume was published in 1838, eleven years after the appearance of Miss Llwyd's edition of the *History of the Gwydir Family*.

the reader all that has hitherto been known of him in his dual character.

The Record of Caernarvon, at p. 133, has the following:—

"Inter placita corone coram Ricardo de Stafford et sociis suis justiciariis domini et ultimi principis Walliæ in North Wallia apud Conewey, anno regni regis Edwardi tercii xliiij. Gruff' Says libertenens prædicti principis de comitatu Angles' convictus fuit coram præfato justiciario apud Conewey de sedicione super appello de eo quod adherens fuisset Owino Lawegogh [*an alternative MS.* Lawgogh] inimico et proditori prædicti domini principis et de consilio prædicti Owyni ad mouendam guerram in Wallia contra prædictum dominum principem," &c.

This brief official entry informs us that in or about the 44th year of Edward the Third (25th Jan. 1370—24th Jan. 1371) a person called Owain Lawgogh was a traitor and enemy to the king; but who Owain was, in what consisted his treachery, or at what period it was consummated, is not stated. We know that his follower, Gruffydd Sais, was a free tribesman whose hereditary lands lay in the island of Anglesey.

Turning now to Yeuain de Galles. Though, as we shall see later, Froissart is by no means the only French chronicler who refers to Yeuain, he is our principal source of information respecting him.[1] The passages

[1] Froissart was born in 1337 and died in 1410, so that he was strictly contemporary with the circumstances of Yeuain's career which he records. He spent several years in England, and was well acquainted with English political life. His *Chronicles* have been edited by Baron Kervyn de Lettenhove (Brussells, 1870, &c., 25 vols.)—a splendid edition, and by M. Siméon Luce (Paris, 1869, &c., in course of publication)—an equally fine edition, with admirable notes. There have been English translations by Lord Berners (*b. circa* 1469, *d.* 1532), first edition in 1523-5, a second in 1812, a third is announced for issue in January 1901 in Nutt's *Tudor Translations*, and by Johnes of Havod in 1803-10 (reprinted in 1891).

The chronicler's spelling of Yeuain's name, as given in the edition of M. Luce is, as a rule, Yewains, but he varies this form with Yevain, Yeuwain, Yeuwains and, at least once, Iewain.

are as follows from the classic translation of Lord Berners. Having terminated his account of the defeat of the English fleet before Rochelle in A.D. 1372 with these words, "Nowe lette us leave a lytell whyle to speke of them, and lette us speke of Sir Yuan of Wales, howe he dyde the same season," Froissart continues, in a fresh chapter (i, 444, edition 1812):

"This Yuan of Wales was son to a prince of Wales, whom kynge Edwarde had put to dethe, I ca'nat say for what cause, and so gave the principalyte to his sone, and made hym prince of Wales; so this Yuan came into Fraunce, and complayned to kyng Charles of Fraunce, of the injuryes that the kynge of Englande had done to hym, as in slayeng of his father, and takyng away of his herytage; so the frenche kyng retayned him, and advaunced him greatly, and made him governour of certayn men of warr. And so the same somer the kyng delyvered him four thousande fightyng men, and sent him to the see, and toke shippyng at Harflewe, and so sayled forthe towarde Englande, and so came to the yle of Gernsay, agaynst Norma'dy, wherof Aymon Rosse, a squyer of honour with the kyng of Englande, was capitayne; and whan he knewe y^t the frenchmen were aryved in the yle, and yuan of Wales with them, he was nothynge content, and so made his somons through the yle, the which is nat great in quantyte: and so he assembled, what of his owne and of them of the yle, to the nombre of viii hundred, and so came to a certayne place, and ther fought with ye sayd yuan, where there was a sore batayle, and endured a long space; howebeit, finally the englysshmen were disconfyted and slayne in the same place, mo than four hu'dred; and so this Aymon fled away, or els he had ben deed or taken: so he saved himselfe with moche payne, and entred into a lytell castell, a two leages thens, called Cornette, the whiche the same Aymon had well fortifyed before. Than after this disconfytur, the sayd yuan drewe togyder his men, and hadde knowledge howe that Aymon was entred into the castell of Cornette; than he drewe thyder and layd siege therto, and made dyvers assautes, but the castell was strong, and well purveyed with good artyllary, so that it was nat easy to be wonne. Duryng this siege before Cornette, the adventur fell on the see of the takyng of the erle of Penbroke and Sir Guyssharde Dangle, and their company, before Rochell (as ye have herde before), of the whiche tidynges, whan the frenche kyng herde therof he was right joyouse, and entended therby the rather to pursue the warre in Poictou: for than he thought that yf the

englysshmen began ones a lytell to declyne, that lightly the cyties and townes wolde gyve up, and rendre the'selfe to him: than the french kynge determyned that into Poyctou, Xaynton, and Rochelloyse, he wolde sende for that season, his constable thyder with certayne men of armes, and to make hote warr in those countrees, bothe by lande and by see, sayenge, that the englysshmen ther as than had no capitayne nor chefe ruler. Than the frenche kynge sent his letters to the sayd yuan, who lay at sege before the castell of Cornet, in the yle of Gernsay; of the whiche siege the kyng was well enformed, and howe the castell by lykelyhod was inpreignable, therfor the kyng commau'ded hym after the sight of his letters, to departe and breke up his siege, and to entre into a shyppe, the whiche the kyng sent hym for the same purpose, and so to sayle into Spayne to kyng Henry, to gette of hym barkes and galeys, and his admyrall and men of warre, to come and to lay siege by the see to the towne of Rochell. Whan the sayd yuan sawe the kynges message and comau'dement, he obeyed therto, and so brake up the siege, and gave leave to his company to departe, and delyvered them shyppes to bring the' to Harflewe, and himselfe entred into a great shyppe and toke his course towarde Spayne. Thus befell of the siege before Cornette, in the yle of Gernsay."

"Cap. ccci. *Howe the kyng of Englande was sore displeased of the takyng of therle of Penbroke:*

"The kyng of England was sore displeased wha' he herde how the army that he had sent into Poictou was overthrowen by the spanyerdes on the see, and so wer all suche as loved hym; howbeit they coude nat ame'de it for that tyme: tha' the sages of the realme thought surely that the countre of Poictou and of Xaynton, was likely to be lost, by reason of the sayd myssehappe; and this they shewed to the kyng and to the duke of Lancastre. So they were long in counsayle on the mater, and so determyned, as than, that the erle of Salysbury, with a fyve hundred men of armes shulde go thyder. But whatsoever cou'sayle or advyse was taken, ther was nothyng done; for there came other busynesses in hande out of Bretayne, that letted that journey, wherof the kyng repented him after, whan he coude nat remedy it. So it was, that the spanyerdes who had taken the erle of Penbroke [at Rochelle] (as ye have herd before) they taryed a certayne space on the see, bycause the wynde was contrary to the'; howbeit, at last they arryved at the porte saynt Andrewe in Galyce [Gallicia], and so entred into the towne about noone, and so brought all their prisoners into the Castell, all bounde in cheanes of yron, acordying to their custome, for other courtesy they can nat shewe: they are like unto the almaynes.

"The same day yuan of Wales was arryved with his shyppe in the same porte, and so toke lande, and entred into the same house, wher as Domferant of Pyon and Cabesse of Wakadent had brought the erle of Penbroke and his knightes. And so it was shewed yuan, as he was in his chambre, howe the englysshemen were in the same house as prisoners: and this yuan had great desyre to se them, to knowe what they were; and so he went forthe into the hall, and as he went thyder he encountred with the erle of Penbroke, whome he knewe ryght well, yet he had nat often sene him before: tha' he sayd to him, as in reproch, a erle of Pe'broke, are ye come into this countre to do homage to me for suche landes as ye holde in the principalyte of Wales, wherof I am rightfull heyre, the whiche your kynge hath taken fro me by evyl counsayle and advyse. The erle of Penbroke was abasshed, whan he sawe that he was a prisoner, and in a strange lande, and knowyng nat the man that so spake to hym in his language; and so answered shortely, and sayd, What are you that gyve me this langage? I am, quoth he, yuan, sonne to prince Aymon of Wales, whome your kyng of Englande put to dethe wrongfully, and hath disheryted me: but whan I may, by the helpe of my right dere lorde, the frenche kyng, I shall shape therfore a remedy: and I wyll ye knowe, that if I may fynde you in any place convenyent, that I may fyght with you, I shall do it, and shewe you the right y^{t} ye have done to me, and also to the erle of Herforde, and to Edward Spe'ser; for by your fathers, with other counsaylours, my lorde, my father was betrayed, wherof I ought to be displeased, and to amende it whan I maye. Than stepte forthe a knight of the erles, called sir Thomas of saint Aulbyn, and made hast to speke, and sayd, yuan, if ye wyll say and maynteyne that there is any falseheed, or hath ben, in my lorde, or that he oweth or shulde owe any homage to you, or any of his au'cetries, cast downe your gage in that quarell, and ye shall fynde him that shall take it up. Than yuan answered and sayd, ye are a prisoner; I can have none honour to apele you, for ye have nat the rule of yourselfe, for ye are under the rule of them that have taken you, but whan ye be quyte, than I shall speke with you more of the mater, for it shall nat rest thus; and so with tho wordes, certayne knightes of Spaygne came bytwene them, and so departed them asondre. And so w^{t}in a while after the sayd iiii spainysshe capite's ledde forthe their prisoners toward the cytie of Burges in Spayn, to yelde them to kyng Henry, who, as than, was there abyding. And whan king Henry knewe of their comyng, and that they aproched nere to the cytie, he sent his eldest sonne, called Johan, who was called, as than, the chylde of Castell, with great nombre of knightes and squyers, to mete with these englysshmen, to do theym honoure; for the king knewe right well what aparteyned

to noblenesse: and wha' they were come to him he dyde them moche honour bothe with wordes and dedes. And than anone after, the kyng sent them into dyvers partes of his realme to be kept."

Froissart's story of how Yeuain was directed to lay siege to Mortagne sur Gironde, and of his melancholy end there, is given in the following words:

"And as ye have herde here before yuan of Wales lay at siege before Mortayne in Poitou, [*recte*, Saintogne] in four bastydes of the which towne the lorde of Lestrade was capitayne. The fyrst bastyde where as parte of the siege lay, as at the syde of a rock, before the castell of Geron [Garonne] one the see, the whiche bastyde yuan hymselfe kept; the seconde was bytwene the water and the castell, lowe before a posterne, so that none coude entre nor issue therat; the third bastyde was on the other syde of the castell; the fourth was in the church of saynt Legar, halfe a leage fro ye castell: by these four bastydes they within Mortayne were sore constrayned, bycause of the lenght of the siege, for it endured a yere and a halfe, so that they within had nothyng to lyve by, nor showe on their fete, nor confort nor socoure apered none to them fro any parte: wherfore they were sore abasshed. This siege thus enduryng before Mortayne, there issued out of the realme of Englande, and out of the marches of Wales, a squier, a Walshman, called James Laube [John Lambe, ed. Johnes], he was but a small ge'tylman, and that well shewed after, for a very ge'tylman wyll never set his mynde on so evyll an entent: some sayde, or he departed out of Englande, he was charged and enfourmed by some knyghtes of Englande, to do the treason that he dyde, for this yuan of Wales was gretly behated in Englande, and in Gascon, bycause of the captall of Beufz [Buch], whome he toke and helped therto before Soubyse, in Poictou; for after he was taken, the frenchmen wolde nat delyver hym agayne by no meanes, nother for raunsome nor for exchaunge: yet the erle of saynt Poule was offered for him, and golde and sylver, but it wolde nat be taken; and whan he sawe that, for pure melancholy he dyed in ye temple at Parys, wherof all his frendes had great displeasure. This walsshe squier, James Laube, the same season arryved in Bretayne, and dyd so moche, that he came into Poictou, and ever as he went he named hymselfe to be servaunt to yuan of Wales, for he spake good frenche; sayeng, howe he was come out of Wales to speke with yuan; and so he was anone beleved, and was conveyd by them of the countre, to Mortaygne, where the siege was; than he wente wisely to yuan, and shewed hym in his owne langage how he was co'e out of his countre to se hym, and to do hym servyce: yuan, who thought none yll,

lightly beleved him, and gave hym moche thankes for his comynge, and sayd, howe he wolde right gladlye have his servyce; and than he demau'ded of him tidynges of the countrey of Wales; and he shewed him trewe tidynges, and untrewe, for he made him beleve howe all the countre of Wales wolde gladlye have hym to be their lorde. These wordes brought this James greatly in love with yuan, for every man naturally desyreth to go into their owne cou'tres, and to here therof, so yt yuan made him his chamberlayne: and this James every day more and more aquaynted him so with this yuan of Wales, that he had nat so moche trust in no man, as he had in him. So moch this yuan loved this James Laube, that it was his distructyon, and the more pytie, for he was a good and valyant man of armes, and was somtyme sonne to a prince of Wales, who kyng Edwarde of Englande caused to lese his heed, the cause why I can nat tell; and so kyng Edwarde ceased into his handes all the provynce of Wales; and this yuan in his youthe came into Fraunce, and shewed all his trouble to kyng Philyppe, than beyng fre'che kyng, who kept him styll about him as lo'ng as he lyved, and was as one of the chyldren of his chambre, with his nevewes of Alenson and other: and in lykewise so dyde king Johan, and than he bare first armes, and was at the batell of Poicters; howbeit, he was nat there taken: it had been better for hym, that he had ben ther slayne: and whan the peace was made bitwene the kynge of Englande, and the frenche kynge, than this yuan wente into Lombardy, and there contynued in warre; and whan the warre began agayne bytwene Englande and Fraunce, than he returned agayne into Fraunce, and bare himselfe so well yt he was greatly praysed, and wel beloved with the frenche kyng, and with all the lordes.

"Nowe lette us speke of his ende, the whiche I am lothe to do, savynge to shewe truely what fell in that tyme.

"This yuan of Wales hadde an usage beyng before Mortayne at the siege, that gladly in the mornyng whan he was up and redy, he wolde come before the castell, and sytte downe and kembe his heed a good long space, and syt and beholde the castell, and the countrey about, beynge out of doute or feare of any thynge: and lyghtly there went none with him but this James Laube and often tymes he made him redy, and none but he, wherby at last came his endyng day. On a mornyng betymes, wha' the wether was fayre and clere, and the nyght had been so hote that he coulde nat slepe, howebeit, he rose and dyd on him but a syngle jacket and his shyrte, and a mantell or a cloke above, and so went thyder as he was wonte to go, and sate hym downe, and this James Laube, with hym, every man beynge in their lodgynges aslepe, for it was early in the morning, and ther was made but lytell watche, for they thought the'selfe sure of the

castell; and whan yuan was sette on an olde stocke of wode, he sayd to James, go to my lodgyng and fatche my combe, for I wyll refreshe me here a lytell season; sir, quoth he, it shall be done: and so he wente and came agayne with the combe: and as he was comyng, I trowe the devyll entred into hym, for besyde the combe, he brought with hym a lytell Javelyne of Spayne, with a large heed of stele, and with the same strake this yuan as he sate, clene through out the body, so yt he fell downe starke deed: and whan he hadde done, he left styll the dart in his body, and so went his way, and drewe under covert of the castell, and soo came to the barryers and was let in, for he made signes to enter, and so he was brought before the Soudyc of Lestrade; Sir, quoth he, I have delyvered you of one of the greatest enemyes that ye had; of whom is that quod the Sowdic; of yuan of Wales, quoth James; and howe so, quoth the Soudic; thus, quoth James, and so shewed him all the hole mater, as ye have herd before, fro poynt to poynt: and whan the Soudyc herde that, he shaked his heed, and behelde him right felly, and said, A, than thou hast murdred him, knowe for trouthe, all thynges consydred, savyng but that this dede is for our profyte, it shoulde cost the thyne heed: but sithe it is done it can nat be undone agayne; howebeit, it is a great domage of that gentylman to be so slayne: we shall have rather blame therby than prayse.

"This was the ende of yuan, or Owen, of Wales, wheder ye wyll, all is one, slayne by great unhap and treason, wherwith they of the hoost whan they knewe it, were ryght sorie and displeased, and so was every man yt herde therof, and specially kyng Charles of Frau'ce, who greatly complayned his dethe; howebeit, he coulde nat amende it: and so this yuan was buryed in the church of saynt Leger, where as he hadde made a bastyde, halfe a leage fro the castell of Mortayne, and all the gentylmen of the hoost were at his buryeng, the whiche was done ryght honourably: howebeit, for all that the siege helde styll before Mortayne, for there were good knyghtes and squiers, bretons, poictevyns, and frenchmen, who had greatter desyre to conquere the castell than they hadde before, and thought never to departe thens tyll they had wonne it, or elles reysed by puyssance, they wolde so fayne have ben revenged of the dethe of yuan of Wales; and so they lay styll without any sawte gevynge, for they knewe well they lacked vitayle within the castell, and none coulde come to them."

Yeuain (Owen) sleeps his last long sleep, from which it requires more than mortal voice to rouse him, in the

ancient church of St. Legere, on the banks of the Gironde. A well-known Welsh proverb has it that "Y'mhob gwlad y megir glew"—brave men are bred of every nation—a truism which has been abundantly demonstrated by the events of our own day, but it may be doubted whether Wales has given birth to a braver man or more engaging character than Owen of Wales. Froissart is not alone amongst French chroniclers in recording the daring actions of the Welsh soldier of fortune—for that he really was; while the esteem in which he was universally held, and the fear he unquestionably inspired in the English rulers, prove both his reckless bravery and his capacity for war. He is probably the greatest military genius that Wales has produced.

He is upon several occasions referred to in the metrical *Chronicle of the Life of Bertrand du Guesclin*,[1] the celebrated constable of France. There is also interesting evidence of the impression he had made upon his adopted country in the *Chronique de Saint-Denys*, the writer of which, in describing the arrival thirty years later of the appeal of Owen Glendower for French assistance, states that Owen backed up his appeal by recalling the services to the throne of France of Yeuain de Galles, "to whom he had succeeded by right of inheritance."[2]

[1] *Chronique de Bertrand du Guesclin, par Cuvelier, trouvère du* xiveme *siècle.* Edited by E. Charrière in the "Collection de Documents inédits sur l'Histoire de France; première série (histoire politique)."

[2] *Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denys, de 1380 a 1422.* Ed. by M. L. Bellaguet in the "Collection de Documents inédits sur l'Histoire de France." The passage, which is of considerable interest, and does not seem to have been noticed by any of the writers upon Owen Glendower, is as follows: Capitulum ix.—Ad arma comparanda Parisius princeps Wallie misit. Inter plures generosos qui regem Anglie ad regni fastigium ascendisse injustissime abhorrebant, solus princeps Wallie, Glindour nomine, non modo eidem viribus contradicendo, sed et contra eum levando calcaneum nunc marte claro nunc obscuro

A word or two as to his assassin. It has been known that Lamb was rewarded by the English government, since an order for the payment to him of 100 francs for the good service he had performed in the death of Owen of Wales is in Rymer. Less known is the following entry upon the Issue Roll of the Exchequer for Michaelmas, 2 Ric. II [ed. F. Devon].

"4 Dec. [1378]. To John Lamb, an esquire from Scotland, because he lately killed Owynn de Gales, a rebel and enemy of the King in France, on his passage to England to explain certain affairs to the Lord the King and his Council. In money paid to his own hands, in discharge of £20 which the Lord the King commanded to be paid him. By writ of privy seal, &c., £20."

Though the assassination of Owen (as we shall henceforth style him) cannot be proved to have been brought about by the English officials in France, clear evidence still exists that they were delighted by the removal of a dreaded enemy, and both the English administrators abroad as well as the king's council at home hastened to reward the murderer and his accomplices.

In the Public Record Office exists a document which discloses the names of Lamb's assistants. There is still extant an account of the disbursements of Richard Rotour, who, in the year 1378, was constable of Bordeaux, the chief seat of the English administration in the south of France at that period *(Public Record Office: Accounts, &c. (Exchequer Q. R.) France, Bundle 180, No. 9)*. Accompanying

Angliam hucusque infestaverat pro posse. Videns tamen opus tam arduum inchoatum sine exterorum auxilio et mercenario conductu se continuare non posse, nec suam tueri auctoritatem ad Francos decrevit recurrere, arma et auxilium poscere, quos super omnes mortales in armis strenuos reputabat. Et quamvis verecundum reputaret quia alias inauditum scuto Francie protegi Walenses petere, ad id tamen audaciam prestitit quod famosus quondam armiger Yvo de Wallia, cui jure consanguinitatis successerat, in servicio regis Francie Karoli nuper deffuncti occubuerat." (p. 164).

the main account are authorities to pay and discharges for payments made, amongst them being the following—

Public Record Office: Accounts, &c. (Exchequer Q.R.), France, Bundle 180, No. 10.

" Jehan sire de Neuille lieutenant daquitaine pour n're t'ssouuerain Seign'r le Roi de France 't d'engleterre. A n're tresch'r 't bien amee mess[ieur] Richart con[nesta]ble de Bourdeaux salut. Com'e nous sumes a plain informez 't avons bien apperceu la grant amour 't loiaute que Jehan Lambe escuier, Cok [1] 't Will'm Scot ses compaignons ont tondiz porte au Roi n're dit S'r eulx estautz en la compaignie des f[rau]nceois 't esp[eci]alment pour la g[rau]nt aventure 't p[er]il en q'lles ils ont mys le'rs corps 't vies po'r la mort de Yuain de Gales t[rad]ido'r 't ennemy du Roi n're dit S'r le quel fasoit moult de mals 't des[tru]ction[2] au paiis 't subgiz du Roi n're dit S'r. Pour la quele mort lesdiz Johan, Cok 't Will'm ont perdu de leurs cosins 't parentz que sont estez mys a mort pour cause de la mort dudit Yuain. Et hen regarde aus choses suisditz 't atendu les g[rau]ndes p[ro]ffit hono'r 't s[er]uice quils pouont faire en cest p[rese]nt viage deu[er]s Mortaigine au Roi n're dit S'r 't auci ont fait on temps passe 't esp[er]ons q' feront par le temps avenir aus ditz Johan Lambe 't ses compaignons auons donne 't ottvoie la som'e de Cynk centz vint 't doux liu[r]es 't dix souls de la monoye corrant pour paier pour jaques bassinetz haub[er]geons h[ar]noys de chambes gantiletz 't plus'rs diu'rs h[ar]noys 't vestures lesq'll' ils ount achatez en la ville de Bourdeux po'r eulx arm' 't arraier 't faire le[ur]s costages 't despens la q'lle som'e vous mandons 't comandons q' li paiez bailliez 't deliu[er]ez de largent lequel nagaires vous fut tramis a n're venue denglet[er]re ou des issues de v're office. Incontinent vous cestes p[rese]ntz appelle le contrerolleur du chastel ou son lieutenant as paiementz susditz. Derechief[3] vous mandons 't comandons q' a Robert Ffissher esquier vous bailliez deliu[er]ez 't paiez des issues de v're dit office xxv*li* de la dite mon[naie] p'r ses dispenz allant en acune negocies de n're dit S'r au dit Rob't p' nous chargez afair' exploit[er] 't deliu[er]er. Enp[re]nant l'res de reconiss[ances] ou daquitances de ce q' as p'sones sumoniez aue[re]z paie p' mye

[1] Blank in the document.

[2] A hole in the parchment has partially obliterated this word.

[3] From this point to the end of the document the parchment looks as though the original entry had been erased, and the above expressions substituted.

lesquells aueqz cez noz l'res volons q' des som'es suisd[itz] vous en aiez dehue alloance en voz accompt. Don' a Bourdeux le prim' iour de Nouembr lan mil ccclxxviij soubz le seel roial de n're office."

With this document is the formal receipt of John Lamb, for himself and his companions, of five hundred and twenty-two livres ten sous, which had been paid to him upon the foregoing order of John de Neville. This runs as follows:—

"Sachent touz ceulx que cez l'res verront ou orioni moy Johan Lambe esquier auoir hen pris 't receu del honn're 't sagehom'e Mons Richart Roto'r connestable de Bourdeux cynk centz vint 't deux liures dix soulz de la monoye courrant a moi donnez 't assignez p[ar] t'shon're 't puissant S'r Mons. de Neuille lieutenant daquitaine par cause 't reson sicome es l'res patentz du dit S'r de Neuille au dit connestable d'rectz plus au plein est contenuz de la quelle som'e surdite Je aua'ndit Johan Lambe sib'n p[a]r 't en nom de mes compaignons com'e po'r moy mesmes me reconoisse 't confesse pleinem't estr' paiez 't le dit connest' eut quitz par ces p[rese]ntz l[ett]res de mon p[ro]pre seel enseales. Donne a Bourd. le xxme jo'r de Septembr' lan mil ccclxxviij."

The accompanying *facsimile* of this document shows a portion of Lamb's seal (with an enlargement to twice its actual size) still appendant to it. The device is a chevron between three lambs, a punning cognizance upon the surname such as was common in those days. It will be observed that Lamb's receipt for the blood-money, and recompense for the loss of his intimates and, perhaps, relatives, who fell victims to the infuriated friends of Owen, is dated the 20th September, whilst the date of the order to John de Neville is the 1st November. The latter document clearly consists, however, of two separate mandates which have been amalgamated, a copy of the later being added to the earlier order on the return of the former into the issuing department at Bordeaux, and a date inserted which was probably the date upon which the amounts expended by John de Neville were brought to charge in the constable's accounts.

The first entry we shall quote from the constable's book (*P. R. O. Accounts, &c. (Exch. Q. R.), France, Bundle 180, No. 9*) is that of the disbursement to Robert Fisher, which had been authorised by John de Neville in the document already presented. It is in the following terms:—

"In denar[iis] solut[is] Roberto Ffissher, scutiffer[o], pro expensis suis emit[tis] versus obsedionem Mauritan[ei] p[er] mandat[um] consil[ii] Reg[is] ad loquend[um] cum Joh'e Lambe scutiffero p[ro] quibusdam negociis statum domini n'ri Regis tam in partibus aquitanie q'am alibi tangent[ibus]. De liberand[o] 't expediend[o] p'ut p[er] garr[antum] hic liberat[um] plenius declaratur, 't p[er] acquiet' ip[s]ius Roberti de rec' hic lib' cu' testimo[n]io [contra] rotul[atoris] xxv*li.*"

Fisher's own receipt for the £25, which was paid to him by the constable of Bordeaux towards the expenses of his journey to Mortagne to "confer" with John Lamb, unfortunately does not accompany the other papers.

The entry of the payment of five hundred and twenty-two livres, ten sous, to John Lamb, the receipt of which by Lamb, on the 20th September 1378, has been already given, runs as follows:—

"Et in denar[iis] solut[is] pro expens[is] Johannis Lamb predicti 't duor[um] socior[um] suor[um] in comitiua sua existenciu[m] cum duob[us] vallet[tis] suis videl' p[ro] div[er]s[is] vestime[n]tis armaturis 't al[iis] eisdem nece[ssar]iis empt[is] 't p[ro]vis[is] quando ordinat[is] fuerunt ad eund' in comitiua d'ni locumtenent[is] ad releuac'o'em loc[i] Mauritan[ei] p'dicti p'ut patet'[1]
p[er] garr[antum] d'ni locumten' p'd'c'i hic lib' 't acquiet' ip[s]ius Joh[an]nis Lamb de rec' hic lib' 't testimon' contrarotul'. v°xxij*li.* x*s.*"

The entries in the constable's volume are regarded by M. Luce as proving that the murder of Owen was premeditated by the English King's Council and deliberately planned by the English officials at Bordeaux, and, taken in conjunction with the preceding documents, it will be

[1] Half-a-dozen words have been erased at this point, and others have not been supplied.

admitted that the evidence in favour of such presumption is decidedly strong.

Lamb continued in the English service, and was entrusted with various duties and sums of money which necessitated entries in the public accounts.[1] Nothing, however, is known of his death.

If Froissart's statement that Lamb spoke to Owen in his own language can be taken to refer to Welsh and not to English, and that he was well acquainted with the course of events in Wales, we should be forced to conclude that he was a Welshman, probably born of the marriage of an English settler and a native woman. It cannot be said that the suggestion is inherently improbable, and the French chronicler's knowledge of the circumstances of Owen's death is so satisfactorily proved by the testimony of the public records of France and of England that we could not refuse to credit him upon a point which must have been well known to all who had acquaintance with Owen. The inference deducible from Lamb's designation in the Exchequer roll as "an esquire from Scotland" is strengthened by the fact that one of his companions was named William Scot, which in those days would mean nothing but William the Scotsman. On the other hand, the name of the third murderer in the tragedy, which is given as Cok, may be intended for the common Welsh appellative coch=red, or ruddy, although it seems to represent rather the Christian- than the surname.

The circumstances of Owen's death bring into strong relief the cruelty and duplicity of the age, and the shallowness of the chivalric spirit which was supposed to ennoble every knightly enterprise; and contrast strongly with the many deeds of courage and devotion to which

[1] See *Public Record Office: Accounts, &c.* (*Exchequer Q. R.*), *Army &c., Bundle 38, No. 12.*

the chroniclers bear testimony. It was the age of the Black Prince and Sir John Chandos, of Owen of Wales and Du Guesclin. It was also the age of John Lamb.

So much for Owen of Wales. Of Owain Lawgoch, the only historical record of him under that cognomen—the entry in the *Record of Caernarvon*—has already been given. The evidence for their common identity must now be presented.

It will be remembered that the conviction of Griffith Sais as an adherent of Owain Lawgoch, a traitor and enemy of the English king and prince, occurred in the year 1370. Owen of Wales was murdered before the walls of Mortagne sur Gironde in the autumn of 1378.

On the patent roll of the 1st Richard II (22 June, 1377—21 June, 1378) under date the 1st February, 1378, is the following entry, as abstracted in the first volume of the *Calendar of Patent Rolls, Richard II.*

"Inspeximus and confirmation of letters patent dated 29th Dec., 47 Edward III, being a grant to Mary, wife of William Hervy, of lands in Budefeld, co. Gloucester, forfeited by Owin de Retheryk."

Consequent upon this grant, we have the following day, the 2nd February, 1378, the issue of another order to the following effect:—

"Revocation of the appointment of John de Wotton to the custody of the lands and tenements late of Owin ap Thomas ap Rither[ik] in Budefeld, co. Gloucester, which were forfeited by the said Owin's adherence to the French, and which the late king granted rent free to Mary, wife of William Hervy."

It is clear that the Owin de Retheryk of the first entry is the Owin ap Thomas ap Rither[ik] of the second, but, save that the latter is described as an adherent of the French, nothing beyond the name Owen serves to connect him with Owen of Wales, and the above entries in the printed *Calendar* have, up to the present, provoked no comment from any Welsh historical student.

However, the second volume of the *Calendar of Patent Rolls, Richard II*, contains the following abstract of an entry which is dated the 5th March, 1383—

"Inspeximus and confirmation in favour of Blethin ap Ynian, a Welshman, of letters patent (in French) of the king's uncle Thomas, earl of Buckingham, lately the King's lieutenant in France, dated Vannes, 27 February, 1380, being a pardon to him in the presence of lords Latymer, Bourchier and Morle, and Sir Hugh de Hastynges, for all treasons and other crimes committed by him in the company of Owen (*Ewayn*) Retherrik who called himself (*qui se disoit*) prince of Wales, or with the French."[1]

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[1] The above abstract somewhat fails to bring out the full force of the entire entry, which therefore is here given at length:—"Rex omnibus ad quos etc., salutem. Inspeximus has patentes carissimi avunculi nostri Thome comitis Bukyngham nuper locum tenens nostri in partibus Ffrancis factas Blethino ap Ynian Wallensi, in hec verba: Thomas fitz au Roy counte de Bukyngham lieutenant de mon tresexcellent et tresredoute seigneur le Roy de Ffrance et d'Engleterre a toutz ceux qi ces lettres verront ou orront, Saluz. Come Blethin ap Ynian Galeis eit demeure en la compaignie de Owayn Retherrik qui se disoit prince de Galis liquel estoit traitour envers nostre dit S'r et avec luy enherdant et demoerant, Et auxi depuis la mort du dit Owayn Retherrik residuelement oue [au] les Francois encontre nostre dit S'r le Roy et ses liges come traitour faux et desnaturel, liquel Blethin ap Ynian nans ait supplie de grace et de mercie et de retourner de son mal oppynion envers nostre S'r avantdites, Et nous ent auoir a sa humiltee consideracion en la presence du S. de Latymer conestable de nostre host, le S. de Bourchier, le S. de Morle, Mons. Hugh de Hastynges et pluseurs autres, et de l'autorite que nous avons de nostre seigneur le Roy ly avons places en nostre grace ly [le] pardonant toutes maners des tresons homicides laiciues roberies rebellions et toutes autres malefices queconque qieles il ad fait envers nostre dit S'r depuis le temps qil estoit premierement en la compaignie du dit Owayn Retherrik et au les diz Ffrancois tanque a la fesance de cestes. En tesmoignance de quele chose a cestes nos lettres patentes a nous mis nostre seel. Doun a Vannes le xxvij jour de Ffevrier l'an mil ccc iiij^{xx}. Nos autem litteras predictas et omnia contenta in eisdem rata habentes et grata ea pro nobis et heredibus nostris acceptamus approbamus et tenore presentium confirmamus. In cujus etc. T. R. apud Westmonasterium quinto die Martii. Pro dimidio marca solutis in hanaperio."—(*Rot. Pat.*, 6 Ric. II, *p.* 2, *m.* 8).

There could be very little doubt that the Ewayn of the patent of 5 March, 1383, was the same person as he of the patents of February, 1378, and this was rendered certain by examination of the roll of the 47th Edward III, the calendaring of which has not yet been reached, where the entry is as follows:—

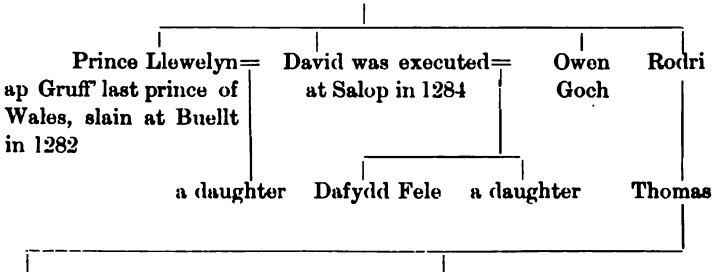
"Edward by the grace of God king of England and France &c. Know ye that we have granted to our beloved Mary, wife of William Heruy, those lands and tenements in the vill of Budefeld in the county of Gloucester formerly belonging to Owin de Retheryk, which lands and tenements are in our hands, as it is said, as forfeited to us by reason of the adherence of the said Owin to our enemies of France. Dated the 29th December (47 Ed. III.)"

Recollection being next had of the statement of Froissart respecting the pretensions of Owen of Wales, it seemed fairly probable that a forward step had been taken in the identification of the latter. Further, there was the fact that an Owen, called Lawgoch, was described in the year 1370 as a traitor to the English king, and there was the existence of a more or less vague tradition, which represented this person as having met with a violent death far away from his native land: all these converging circumstances pointed to the conclusion, which might be provisionally accepted as a working hypothesis, that Owain Lawgoch and Owen of Wales both met in Owen ap Retherick, or Owen ap Thomas ap Retherick.

The next point in the enquiry, therefore, is, Who was this Owen?[1]

[1] It may be mentioned that the reply now presented to this question differs from that given at the reading of the paper on the 21st of March. On that occasion the writer set forth the claims of three Welsh princely houses to the lineage of Owen, and arrived at the conclusion that he was a descendant of a line of Morganwg chieftains. The ascription of Owen to South Wales was strongly combatted at the lecture by Mr. J. H. Davies, M.A., who argued ably in favour of his descent from the Welsh princes of Gwynedd. Mr. Davies

The first writer who appears to have fixed the place of Owen in one of the princely lines of Wales—that of Gwynedd—was Miss Angharad Llwyd, the author of *The History of Mona*. To her edition of Sir John Wynn's *History of the Gwydir Family* is appended, in illustration of the descents mentioned therein, a pedigree of the princes of Gwynedd starting with Gruffudd ab Cynan, from which the following extract is sufficient for our present purpose :—



Elin the Frenchwoman [so called because she was in France with her brother], married and had children. *Hengwrt MS.*

Owen llaw goch, or Owen with the "Bloody Hand," who distinguished himself in the wars of France, temp. E. 3, and is celebrated by Sir John Froissart, in his *Chronicles*, by the name of Sir Ievan of Wales, murdered by John Lamb, in 1381.*

* [Note by Miss Llwyd.] "This interesting anecdote identifying Sir Ievan of Wales (whose chivalrous exploits occupy so large a portion of Froissart's *Chronicles*), with the son of Tomas ab Rodri, was discovered in one of the *Hengwrt MSS.* belonging to Gryffydd ap Howel Vaughan, Esq., of Rûg, whose kind indulgence in permitting the Editor a perusal of this valuable volume is most gratefully acknowledged."

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quoted certain entries upon the public records with which the writer was acquainted, but the full import of which he had been unable to gather. He has now but to say that further research has convinced him that upon the question of Owen's parentage Mr. Davies was right and he himself was wrong. In the period that has elapsed since the lecture, Mr. Davies and himself have been in constant friendly communication, and whatever value this paper may possess as an original contribution to Welsh history is due as much

Had Miss Angharad Llwyd followed up the clue afforded her by the Hengwrt volume with a few researches into the public records, evidence would probably have been forthcoming which would have greatly strengthened what, it must be admitted, was altogether insufficient proof. The Rev. Thomas Price (*Carnuhanawc*) gives Owen a paragraph at the close of his *Hanes Cymru*, and refers to Miss Llwyd's identification in terms that betray his own scepticism. Later historical writers have been influenced by Mr. Price's attitude, and those who have written since 1878 have been confirmed by the following note by the late Mr. W. W. E. Wynne, of Peniarth, appended to a reproduction of Miss Angharad Llwyd's pedigree in a reprint of Sir John Wynn's *History of the Gwydir Family*, issued from an Oswestry press in that year. Mr. Wynne makes the following remarks upon Miss Llwyd's note, quoted above:

"I strongly suspect that the following is the passage to which Miss Angharad Llwyd refers. It is in *Hengwrt MS.* 351,[1] the only one she is likely to have had access to, as being at Rhûg in Col. Vaughan's time. It is on page 865, and is a copy of a large MS. in the autograph of Robert Vaughan, the antiquary, *Hengwrt MS. 96.*

"'On Loawgoch alas yn Ffrainc gan Jo^{n} Lam ei was drwy frad yn ei

---

to Mr. Davies's labours as to those of the actual writer. It is his friend's unrivalled knowledge of the Welsh poetry of the 15-17th centuries that has enriched this paper with the extracts from practically unknown bards. These possess the double interest of showing Owen on the point of assuming those characteristics of romance which Professor Rhys has dealt with, whilst still retaining a few of the elements of a popular leader of men.

[1] *Hengwrt* 351 has been unnecessarily renumbered *Peniarth* 119 (Hist. MSS. Com.: *Report on MSS. in the Welsh Language*, vol. i, part ii, p. 730). It would appear from Mr. Gwenogvryn Evans's *Report* that the last numbered page in the volume is 742. *Hengwrt* 350 (now *Peniarth* 120) accords more closely with Mr. Wynne's description of the volume containing the above passage, but this, according to Mr. Evans, has no more than 607 numbered pages.

wely pan oed yn arfaethy dyfod i oresgyn talaith Cymru. J. B. 30. O. S. P.

"'Elen Ffrances am ei bod yn Ffranic gydai brawd ac yn medry Ffrangeg= ap Ior ap Ednyved Vychan. p. Llyfr Mr. Edd. Herbert o Drefaldwyn.'

"It would appear from a letter in the *Archæologia Cambrensis*, No. xxi, third series, page 62, quoting an original record in the Imperial Library of France, that the names of Sir Jevan of Wales were 'Ivain agruffin,' doubtless Jevan ap Griffith."

A few of the French documents referred to by Mr. Wynne as appearing in *Archæologia Cambrensis*, 3rd Series, vi, 62, are printed *in extenso* at the end of Augustin Thierry's *Histoire de la conquète de L'Angleterre par les Normands*, and will be dealt with later. Meanwhile, it is sufficient to say that the writer of the letter in *Arch. Camb.* does not state that the names of Sir Jevan of Wales were Ivain agruffin, though such an inference might easily be drawn from a cursory perusal. As a matter of fact, the document bearing the seal and signature of Owen (or Jevan) ap Griffith, is of the year 1389, eleven years after the death of the redoubtable captain who, beyond all others, was known to the French as Owen of Wales.[1]

[1] The error of the late Mr. Wynne, as might have been expected, has coloured the views of every subsequent writer who has touched upon Owen's career. Thus, a contributor to that invaluable collection, *Bye-Gones*, for 14 Aug. 1895, after quoting from the *Fœdera* the order for the payment to John Lamb, enquires, "Has Evan of Wales ever been identified with any known Welsh character?" The reply on the 23 Oct. is as follows:—"There does not seem to be much hope of identifying Evan of Wales. See a long note on the subject in *Bye-Gones* for April 10, 1889 [consisting merely of extracts from Froissart]. If Froissart himself, as I gather from this note, says he cannot identify Evan with any known character in the old Welsh books, I am afraid the moderns have not much chance of success." The subject is again ventilated in the same publication for the 15th April 1896, when the ascription of Miss Angharad Llwyd, and the note of Mr. Wynne thereupon, as quoted above, are trotted forth. Though the

It will have been observed that the various entries upon the patent rolls describe Owen as the son of Retherick, which in modern English would be Roderick, representing the Anglicised form of the Welsh Rhodri. Rhodri was in Latin made into Rothericus or Rethericus. One entry gives his lineage as "the son of Thomas the son of Retherick," and, as we shall see, there need be no hesitation in accepting this version as the correct one. It seems useless to speculate upon the authority for Froissart's Prince Aymon. It is clearly an error, the cause of which defies explanation.

Now, the Rhodri to whom this pedigree ascends, will be shown to be none other than Rhodri ap Gruffudd, brother to Llewelyn ap Gruffudd, frequently styled the last prince of Wales, and to David ap Gruffudd, who was put to death in 1283. This is in accordance with the pedigree already presented by Miss Angharad Llwyd. Rhodri is a much more shadowy character in history than are his brothers Llewelyn and David, but it is probable that the outlines of his career would have been less obscure had some of our writers upon historical subjects condescended to a little work upon the vast mass of unprinted records, instead of

writer was sufficiently acute to note that the document signed "Ivain agruffin" was of the year 1389, and that, therefore, that individual could not have been identical with Owen of Wales, who was murdered in 1378, he nevertheless asserts that "there is abundant evidence to prove that 'Yvain agruffin', as he signed himself, was identical with 'Evan de Galles'". He continues: "It appears to be more likely that, as stated in Harleian MS. 2288, fo. 147, 'Sir Jevan of Wales' is identical with Sir Jevan ap Griffith, illegitimate son of Sir Griffith Llwyd, of Tregarnedd, in Anglesey", thus making confusion worse confounded. The latest hash of Froissart's narrative is also perhaps the most ridiculous—an article in *Wales*, for May 1897, considerably embellishing the already sufficiently romantic career of Owen, whom the writer terms, "the son of Prince Edmund of Wales."

remaining content with picturesque modernisings of well-known chronicles. The able writer of the Welsh historical biographies in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, makes but incidental reference to him when treating of his better known brothers. It is, however, necessary for our inquiry that we should endeavour to penetrate the darkness that surrounds Rhodri's career, and research has disclosed the following particulars concerning him.

Rhodri was little more than a child when, in the year 1241, he accompanied his elder brother David to the English court, to remain there as a hostage for the good behaviour of his countrymen. How long he continued in England is unknown, but it is probable that he did not return to Wales for many years. He does not seem to have got on well with his brother Llewelyn, perhaps because of the English proclivities which he could not fail to have imbibed. At any rate, in the year 1277 he was forced to flee to England for protection, and his injuries constituted one of the subjects of negotiation between the king of England and Llewelyn in the latter part of that year (*Fœdera*, Rolls ed., i, 545). Doubtless foreseeing that his presence in Wales would be a constant source of irritation, Edward determined upon settling Rhodri upon an English estate, a course that was also followed in the case of his brother David.[1] From this time forward Rhodri does not seem to have taken any part in affairs in Wales.

The earliest date at which his name has been met with in the public records, after his removal to England, is

[1] It does not appear that Rhodri was made a baron, or was ever summoned to Parliament. David certainly became an English baron when he accepted his English estates, and it was in that capacity that he was treated as a traitor. In the writs issued for his trial the king expressly states that he had been inter majores nostri palacii collocantes (*Rot. Wall.*, 11 Ed. I, *m.* 2 *dorse* ; 28 June 1283).

1278, when an arrangement which had been concluded between him and his brother, Llewelyn, came before the English king. The entry upon the close roll of 6 Ed. I (*m.* 4*d.*) is thus abstracted in the recently issued *Calendar of Close Rolls*, 1272-1279 :—

"Whereas Roderic son of Griffin and brother of Llewelyn son of Griffin, prince of Wales, on Saturday after the Nativity of St. Mary, 6 Edward, and also on Sunday following, the king being then at Rothelan, came there into the king's court and demanded against the said prince his brother his purparty of all the lands that belonged to David his uncle in North Wales and elsewhere throughout the principality of Wales, which lands the prince then held, and the prince came before the king in his court and said that he was not bound to answer to Roderic herein, and he proffered by the hands of the abbot of Aberconwy a deed under the seal of Roderic and others of the parts of Wales in these words (here follows copy of grant and release by Roderic son of Griffin to Llewelyn, prince of Wales, his brother, and the heirs of his body of all his right in the lands and possessions in (*apud*) North Wales or elsewhere in the principality of Wales, for 1000 marks that the prince paid to him beforehand to acquit the marriage of Emonina, daughter of John le Botillier, with promise not to disturb Llewelyn contrary to this grant, which is sealed for greater security with the seals of the bishops of Bangor and of St. Asaph, the abbots of Aberconwey, Basingwerk, and Bully, with the addition of the seals of the archdeacons of Bangor and St. Asaph. Witnesses: Tuder son of Etnyvet, steward of Wales, Annian son of Kaeradauk, David son of Ennyaun, Rhys son of Griffin, Kenewric son of Goronow, Master William and David, clerks of the prince. Dated and done at Kaerinarvon, 2 id. April, 1272). Which deed Roderic, then in court, acknowledged that he had made, but he said that he had received nothing of the said 1000 marks, and Llewelyn asserted that he had paid Roderic 50 marks thereof. At last, after many arguments between the parties in the said court, it was agreed in the king's presence in his court at Rothelan, on the said Sunday, that Roderic quit-claimed to Llewelyn and the heirs of his body all his right in the lands aforesaid, and Llewelyn acknowledged in the king's court that he owed to Roderic 950 marks, to be levied, in default of payment, from his lands and chattels in the principality of Wales by the sheriffs and bailiffs whom the king shall cause to be sent thither for this purpose. For greater security David son of Griffin, brother of the said prince and of Roderic, made acknowledgment in the same way, and granted that the money shall be levied of his lands and

chattels in England and elsewhere by the bailiffs and sheriffs of the king.

"*Memorandum*, that this acknowledgment is enrolled on the roll of Wales on the dorse of the roll of the same year.

"*Memorandum*, that the aforesaid deed of quitclaim was delivered on the same day to the prince's clerk, to be delivered to the prince, by Roderic's consent."

The grant and quitclaim recited in the above document will be found in *P.R.O: Chapter House, Liber A*, f. 361 (left-hand side of page). There were several John le Botelers, but I am unable to distinguish the member of the family who is here in question, nor have I been more fortunate in discovering anything further respecting the lady Emonina.[1] The agreement between Rhodri and Llewelyn is a little difficult to understand, but its purport seems to be that, in addition to the transfer of the right of granting the lady Emonina de Boteler in marriage, Rhodri relinquished to Llewelyn all his rights in the lands and possessions to which he was entitled, or which he claimed. The settlement of 1278 was practically guaranteed by the king, and it was no doubt in virtue of this agreement that Rhodri, in 1292, obtained an annuity of £40 per annum from the English treasury.

A hitherto unnoticed pedigree in the British Museum *Harleian* 1157 (a volume of Shropshire genealogies compiled at the beginning of the 17th century, but

[1] An unaccountable misreading of the document occurs in the above abstract, where the agreement between Rhodri and Llewelyn is said to have been sealed with the seal of (amongst others) the abbot of Bully. This stands for Enlly, or Enlli (as is the spelling in *Liber A*). Not only has the identification of the above extraordinary place been unattempted in the index to the volume, but it has been omitted altogether therefrom; nor is it recorded under the forms of Bardsey or Enlli. Where is the sense of issuing official calendars to the public records which must necessarily include a large number of entries that contain Welsh place and personal names, without having those entries examined by a Welsh scholar?

containing a few descents from Welsh princely families) gave the following clue to his new *locale*:—

Llewelyn ap Iorwerth
|
Griffith
|
Owen Goch | Llewelyn, slain 1282. | David, executed 1283. | Griffith Vychan[1] | Rhodri=Beatrix d. & h. to David, bar[on] of Malpas.
|
Thomas, rebelled in ye time of K. Ed. 3.
|
Owen ben goch died yonge, and daughters.

Upon reference to Ormerod's *History of Cheshire* (ed. Helsby, 1882) under "Malpas" (vol. ii, 598), a pedigree of the barons of Malpas was found, from which these descents are extracted:—

David de Malpas
alias le Clerc
|
[Sir] William de Malpas, m. Beatrix, d. of Robert de Montalt, seneschal of the earl of Chester. He died without legitimate issue; had illegitimate
|
[Sir] David [de Malo-Passu, *als.*] the Bastard, *alias* Le Clerk; intruded into his father's moiety of the barony of Malpas.
|
William Patric=Beatrix=Roderic ap Gryffin ap Llewellyn.
had on
partition, 44 Hen. III,
a fourth of the barony of Malpas, died 1290.
|
Isabella,
aged 30 in 1290;
m. Richard de Sutton.

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[1] Griffith Vychan is unknown to Welsh historians as a brother to Llewelyn and David. There is, however, some evidence for his

The "abstracts of evidences" upon which this pedigree is founded,[1] and which accompany it, show Rhodri to have been married to Beatrix de Malpas so early as the 9th Edward I (1281), when they both confirm a grant to the abbey of St. Werburgh. From this date onwards, his name is occasionally met with in the palatinate documents. The following are instances:—

17 Ed. I (1289). Inquisition post mortem upon the death of John de St. Pierre. That the said John held *(inter alia)* of Urian de St. Pierre and Rotheric, son of Griffin and Beatrice his wife, one moiety of Wynercote [Wyuercote] in demesne, and another moiety of Richard de Sutton and Isabel his wife, in demesne. (Chester Plea Rolls, 16, 17 Ed. I, *m.* 8*d.*)

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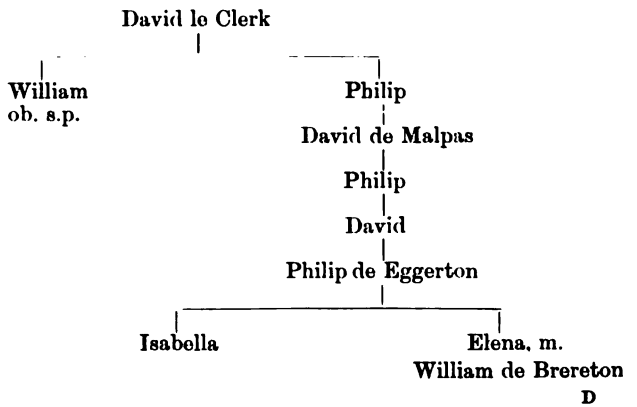
inclusion in the family of Gruffudd ap Llewelyn ap Iorwerth. In an unpublished list of those who did homage to Edward, prince of Wales, in 1301, which I have discovered only quite recently, is the name of Griffith ap Griffith d'Anglesey. and it is difficult to find another of that name amongst the "gwyr mawr Mon" elsewhere than in the princely line of Aberffraw.

[1] It may be well to put upon record another descent from David de Malpas the elder, which was alighted upon during the course of these researches. In a suit of Isabella, daughter of Philip de Egerton, *et alii*, against John, son of John de Sutton, in the king's bench in Hilary term of 13 Ric. II (*m.* 141), the following pedigree is set forth:—



17 Ed. I (1289). Matilda, wife of Hugh de Pulford, against Robert Parson, of Coddington. Dower of 2 messuages, &c., part of the land being in the several custodies of Roger de Monte Alto, Peter de Arderne, Rotheric son of Griffin, and Beatrice, his wife, and Randal de Thornton. (*Ib., m.* 9.)

In 1290 Beatrix died, apparently leaving no issue by Rhodri. Her possessions[1] passed to her daughter Isabel, who was married to Richard de Sutton, and thence to John de Sutton. He seems to have parted with them pretty freely, a considerable portion falling into the hands of the rising family of Egerton, and another large share going to the founder of the de Cherletons of Powys.[2] Rhodri was, no doubt, tenant by the courtesy of some, but it does not appear what part, of his wife's estate.

[1] These are given in the Calendar of Inq. post mortem as comprising Shokelach castr', Tholyhate passag' in Tilestone vocat' Yhevill, Dokynton maner', Bradlegh maner', Malpas maner', Barton terr' &c., Chirton terre &c., Rughe Cristleton terr' &c., Home Cristelton terr' &c., Borewardesley reddit', Yeiton maner', Walefeld terr' &c., Oldecastell bosc', Wevercote terr' &c., custod' pacis ib'm, Shokelach de uno judicatore in Cestr' comitatu, Goldebourne hundr', and Dekynton terr' &c.

[2] The importance of this will appear later, when we come to deal with Rhodri's son and successor. Montgomeryshire antiquaries have not been very successful in their enquiries into the origin of the Cherletons. An article on "The Feudal Barons of Powys" in the first volume of *Montgomeryshire Collections*, contains no reference to the first John de Cherleton of Powys' possessions in Cheshire. The following entry, however, shows him as having a large interest in the very estates, a share of which had been held in dower by Beatrix, the wife of Rhodri:—

"3 Ed. III. John de Cherleton, and master John de Hildeslegh, clerk. Fine—castle and hundred of Malpas, manors of Shokelache, Bradeleye, Ageton, a moiety of the manor of Chirchecristelton, a moiety of a third part of the mill of Barton, a fourth part of the manor of Rowecristelton, and of the serjeantry of the peace of Malpas, and three-parts of the advowson of the church of Malpas. The said manors, &c., being held of the earl of Chester in capite, a licence of alienation was granted to John son of Richard de Sutton, to enfeoff John de Hyldeslegh, clerk, and Peter de Rithre, clerk, of the

We next come to the following :—

27 Ed. I (1299). Fulk le Strange, Bogo de Knovill, and Alianora, his wife, *v.* Rotheric son of Griffin, Katherine his wife, and Cadugon de Hadelegh. Dispute respecting a pool. (*Fine Rolls*, 27 Ed. I, No. 58.)

28 Ed. I (1300). Ellen, who was the wife of Thomas de Arderne, *v.* Roderic son of Griffin, and Katherine his wife. Dower of 4 messuages, 7 bovates of land, 80 acres of wood, 120 acres of pasture, and 10 solidates of rent in Northbury near Meerbury. (*Plea Rolls*, 27-28 Ed. I, *m.* 2 ; 28-29 Ed. I, *mm.* 6, 7.)

28 Ed. I (1300). The said Roderic and Katherine vouch to warranty Thomas son of Thomas de Arderne. (*Ib.*, 28-29 Ed. I, *m.* 8.)

28 Ed. I (1300). Leuca, who was the wife of Richard Faber of Wildeleg', *v.* Roderick son of Griffin, and Katherine his wife. Dower of one messuage and 20 acres of land in Little Egge, and the said Roderick vouches to warranty Urian de St. Pierre. (*Ib.*, 27-28 Ed. I, *mm.* 6*d*, 7.)

33 Ed. I (1305). Rotheric son of Griffin, and Katherine his wife, *v.* Eignon ap Ithel, and Alice his wife. One messuage, eight acres of

---

castle, hundred, manors, &c., mentioned in the above fine, to hold the same to them and their heirs for ever, together with the reversion of the manor of Yeyton on the death of Robert de Sutton ; with license to the same John and Peter to give the same castle, hundred, manors, &c., to John de Chorleton for life, with remainder to John son of John son of Richard de Sutton and Isabel daughter of the aforesaid John de Chorleton, his wife, and the heirs of their bodies, and them failing, to the right heirs of the aforesaid John de Chorleton, and to grant that the manor of Yeyton, on the death of the said Robert, should remain to John de Chorleton in perpetuity." (*Chester Plea Rolls*, 2 and 3 Ed. III, *m.* 11, 1329-1330. *See* also *Rot. Pat.*, 1 Ed. III, *p.* 2, *m.* 25.)

It is true that throughout this entry de Cherleton is nowhere described as "of Powys", and his name is consistently spelled "de Chorleton." But that they are the same is clear from the following entries upon the patent roll of three years earlier :

"John, son of Richard de Sutton, lord of Malepas, acknowledges that he owes to John de Cherleton, lord of Powys, £3,000 ; to be levied, in default of payment, of his lands and chattels in co. Stafford.

"The said John de Cherleton acknowledges that he owes to the aforesaid John son of Richard, £3,000 ; to be levied, in default of

land, three acres of wood, three acres of heath, and the third part of the third part of a mill in Masefin. (*Ib.*, 33 Ed. I, No. 75.)

33 Ed. I (1305). Rotheric son of Griffin, and Katherine his wife, *v.* Philip de Cawordyn, and Eva his wife. Manor of Masefen, except four messuages, four bovates of land, six acres of wood, six acres of heath, and two parts of a mill in the same manor. (*Ib.*, 33 Ed. I, No. 76.)

By these fines Rhodri and his wife, Katharine, must have acquired almost the whole of the manor of Masefen. A township of this name is situated in the hundred of Malpas, but it does not appear either as manor or vill in the frequent enumerations of the properties held with the barony of Malpas. It is described at p. 660 of vol. ii of Ormerod's *History of Cheshire* (ed. Helsby). The manor of Althurst, in the hundred of Nantwich (Ormerod, iii, 462), which will be found later on to belong to Rhodri's descendants, may also have been acquired by him, but no evidence is at present forthcoming to that effect.

This concludes the review of Rhodri's Cheshire possessions and interests. He had also lands at Tatsfield or

payment, of his lands and chattels in co. Salop." (*Rot. Pat.*, 20 Ed. II, *m.* 1*d.*; January 1327.)

The occasion for this transaction is not apparent, but the entries upon the various rolls exhibit the point which I am at present desirous of emphasising, namely, that Rhodri ap Gruffudd and his son Thomas, with whom we shall deal presently, were without doubt brought into contact with John de Cherleton, lord of Powys, by reason of their common connection with several of the most important families of West Cheshire. The remainder to John de Cherleton under the above fine never operated, because John de Sutton, the younger, who had married de Cherleton's daughter, had issue (*see* recovery entered on the plea roll for the 19th Hen. VIII). De Cherleton married Hawys, the great-granddaughter of Gwenwynwyn, prince of Powys, in 1309; he died in 1353. No reference to his earlier marriage, nor to Isabel, his daughter by that marriage, appears in an article on "The Feudal Barons of Powys" in *Montgomeryshire Collections*, i, 261.

Tattelesfield in Surrey; but as, beyond the single reference to Roderic fitz Griffin, lord of the manor of Tatesfield, as having presented to the rectory of Tatsfield in the year 1309-10, the evidences of his connection with Surrey are obtained from entries relating to his son, we will not enter upon them at this point.

Rhodri ap Gruffudd died in or soon after the year 1315. He had been granted a sum of £40 per annum by Edward I (*Rot. Pat.*, 20 Ed. I, *m.* 5; August 1292). Twenty-three years later, for some unknown reason, this payment was found to have got into arrear, and an order was then issued that the deficiency should be made up (*Rot. Claus.*, 8 Ed. II, *m.* 8; May 1315). Unfortunately no enquiry seems to have been made into his possessions at his death. His second wife, Katherine, whom he must have married soon after the death of Beatrix de Malpas, survived him. He left by her a son named Thomas, and it may be inferred, from the total absence of evidence to the contrary, that he had no other issue.

Thomas ap Rhodri, or Thomas son of Retherick, as he is most frequently termed, seems to have obtained livery of his father's estates in the ordinary course. He was therefore over 21. Katherine, in right of dower, had eight messuages and 17 acres of land in Newton, near Cuddington, and her right as against Thomas is entered upon the Cheshire plea roll of 9 and 10 Ed. II, *m.* 17, 1316. In the next year he was party to a fine levied upon a tenement in Horton, near Malpas (*ib.*, 10 and 11 Ed. II, *m.* 5*d*); and in 1318-9 we meet with his name upon the recognizance roll of Chester for that year as surety for William de Burstow, the chamberlain of Chester (*m.* 1*d* [13]). This is the last we hear of him in connection with Cheshire, and he seems between this period and that of his death in 1364 to

have parted with all his property in that county,[1] with, perhaps, the exception of the manor of Althurst. His name, however, is to be frequently met with upon the close and patent rolls for the next few years in connection with his Surrey estate of Tatsfield. These entries are for the most part acknowledgments of monies borrowed from different individuals,[2] who, for their greater security, had the transactions noted upon the public records, and it is clear therefrom that Thomas was not flourishing in Surrey. He nevertheless seems to have made Tatsfield his usual residence, for we find him a witness to a conveyance of land in the vicinity in October 1331 (*Rot. Pat.*, 5 Ed. III, *p.* 1, *m.* 4*d*). A John de Stoket, of Oxsted (*Rot. Claus.*, 14 Ed. II, *m.* 10*d*) also attests the same deed, and with this person Thomas had several transactions. A grant of the year 1324, by Thomas filius Rethericus de Tatlesfelde, to John Stokete and his son John in fee tail, of certain lands in Tatlesfelde, is amongst the Harley Charters (56 H. 21) in the British Museum; and a release, dated 31 Ed. III (1358), by Thomas Rethery, of 7*s.* 7*d.*, part of a rent arising out of certain tenements in Tattlesfeld,

[1] In *Ancient Deeds*, iii, 392 (No. C. 3644), is the following:—"Demise by Robert de Huxleyg to Urien de Eggerton of all the lands and tenements which he had in Neuton by Holdecastel of the demise of Thomas son of Rotheric de Tattlesfield, with all liberties &c., in the wood of Holdecastel belonging to the said lands. A.D. 1333."

[2] Gilbert de Balsham, of London, "seler," £20 (1320); John de Mockyng, of Somerset, fishmonger of London, £32 (1325); Thomas de Evenefeld, of London, "spicer," 100 marks, (1325); Andrew Aubrey and other executors of the will of William de Evenefeld put in their places William de Wyckewane to prosecute the execution of a recognizance for 100 marks made to him in chancery by Thomas son of Retheric de Tatelesfeld (*Rot. Pat.*, 3 Ed. III, *m.* 36*d*; Feb. 1329); Adam de Sarum, of London, "spicer," puts in his place William de Wykewan to prosecute the execution of a recognizance for 100 marks made to him in chancery by Thomas son of Retheric de Tatelesfeld (*ib.*, *m.* 35*d*; Feb. 1329).

to one of the same John Stokets is amongst the Cotton Charters (xxix, 8) in the same institution. The latter document still bears the seal of Thomas, thus described in the British Museum *Catalogue of Seals*: "A shield of arms; quarterly, in each quarter a lion rampant. Between, three pairs of sprigs." The inscription is very indistinct, but it is tolerably certain that the name inserted in the deed followed the form upon the seal, and that the inscription is therefore to be read "S. Thome Rethery." It is difficult to recognise in Thomas Rethery the nephew of prince Llewelyn ap Gruffudd, but there can be little doubt that Thomas, at all events in his capacity as a Surrey landowner, had forsaken the Welsh method of ancestral nomenclature, and had adopted the English mode of forming personal names. The arms upon the seal are those ascribed (with doubtful accuracy) to his uncle, prince Llewelyn.

Whether Thomas's position in Surrey may have been a declining one, or not, he held this property at his death, and it may be that his borrowings upon the security of the Tatsfield estate were expended in the purchase of lands elsewhere. For we next find that he had obtained the small manor of Budefeld, or Bidfield, in the county of Gloucester. This is a mesne manor, a member of the manor of Bisley in the hundred of the same name. Atkins, in his *History of Gloucestershire* (p. 147), observes of Bidfield: "Owen de Roderick was seised of Bidfield, in the reign of king Edward the Third; but he being attainted for rebellion, Bidfield was granted to Mary Herney, widow of William Herney, 47 Ed. III." Fosbrooke's *Abstracts of Records and Manuscripts respecting the County of Gloucester* (1807) has the following additional particulars:—

"*Bisley.*—This large place contains Avenage, Bidfield, Bussage, Chalford, Ockerige, Tunley, Dennaway, Steanbridge, Troham or Througham, a separate manor. In an extent of the lands, which

were Rich. de Clare's, Earl of Gloucester, Busseley, with appurtenances and liberties, is valued at £32 6*s.* 8*d.* per ann. (Esc., 47 Hen. III, No. 35). Hugh le Despencer, (who had marr. Eleanor, a co-heir of the Earldom of Gloucester), Joan, wife of Humphr. de Bohun, and Hugh Cerne, of Bisley, held the M[anor] and Hund. 9 Ed. I (Nom. Villar.) . . . . Upon Despencer's attainder, Roger de Mortimer, for services done to Q. Isab. had a grant of a mess. and 10 librates of land (Pat. 1 Ed. III). . . . . Not long after, Edw. son of Hugh le Despencer, Earl of Glamorgan, who had a release of the lands of his mother's inheritance, held this M[anor], *i.e.* what had not been granted to Mortimer (Pasch. Fines, 41 Ed. III). Humphr. de Bohun, Earl of Essex, Hereford, and Northampton, died seized of part of a fee here, which Edw. Earl of March, held, and of the advowson of the second turn of presentation to the church, whose temporals were worth per ann., with accidents, 20 marks (Esc., 46 Ed. III, No. 10). Owen ap Thomas Hetherwicke, a traitor, joining with the French, held a mess. caruc. and a half, of the Earl of Heref. in Budefield, there being 3 acr. of wood, 18 of mead[ow], and 36*s.* per ann. rent of assize from free and customary tenants, with pleas and perquis[ites] of court (Esc., 43 Ed. III, pars ii), which lands were gr[anted] to Mary Hervey, wid. of Will. Hervey, 47 Ed. III (Sir R. Atkins)."

Attention is particularly directed to the fact that Thomas here comes into contact with the powerful houses of Despenser and Hereford, but no official record breaks the silence upon the relations that existed between them.

So far as I have been able to discover Rhodri had no interest in Wales at the time of his death. Thomas, on the other hand, by means which are not apparent, became possessed of a small estate in Montgomeryshire. He also made an unsuccessful effort to obtain some of the patrimony of his ancestors by claiming directly as the eldest surviving male descendant of the line of Gruffudd ap Llewelyn ap Iorwerth.

I have said that during his lifetime Thomas must have parted with practically the whole of his lands in Cheshire, for the inquisition taken after his death, which will be set forth presently, makes no reference to any property in that county; though it may be that the enquiry

into this portion of his estates would be conducted by the escheator of the earl of Chester (and prince of Wales), and returned into the earl's exchequer at Chester. We know, also, that between A.D. 1320 and 1340, John de Cherleton of Powys, was acquiring lands in Cheshire in the interest of his daughter Isabel de Sutton. It is quite probable that an exchange may have been effected with Thomas ap Rhodri, by which the latter relinquished his Cheshire estates for the manor of Dynas, a mesne manor within the manor of Mechain Iscoed, a part of the inheritance which John de Cherleton enjoyed in right of his wife, Hawys, the last of the line of Owen Cyfeiliog.[1] De Cherleton may have been glad of the opportunity of introducing into a region which was the scene of constant disagreement and tumult between himself and his relation by marriage, Griffin de la Pole, a Welsh proprietor who should have almost as strong sentimental claims to the adhesion of his tenants as one of their own Powysian lords. Be this as it may, we find Thomas in the year 1333 in possession of the manor of Dynas.[2] The

[1] The history of the commote, afterwards the manor of Mechain Iscoed, presents great difficulties. An article upon the "Ancient Lords of Mechain" in the first volume of *Montgomeryshire Collections*, exhibits these difficulties, but, unfortunately, does nothing towards their dispersal. "A history of the parish of Llanfechain" in vol. v of the same publication gives no help upon the point of how the manor came into the hands of Hawys and de Cherleton. However, it was almost certainly in their possession in the year 1313 (*Rot. Claus.*, 6 Ed. II, *m.* 18), and, notwithstanding the efforts of Griffin de la Pole, uncle of Hawys, who held it for a time by virtue of the king's order (*Rot. Claus.*, 12 Ed. II, *m.* 26; October 1318), it still remains (with the exception of the mesne manor of Dynas) in the barony of Powys.

[2] The present name of the manor is Plas yn Dinas. The author of the "History of the parish of Llanfechain" (*Mont. Coll.*, v, 203-284) observes (p. 253) that "all the southern, and a great portion of the northern part of the parish [of Llanfechain] is in the manor

following entry finds him in that year not only exercising full proprietary rights there, but also reveals him as a married man:—

"Licence for Thomas ap Retheryk to enfeoff John Stoket of the lands in Dynas and Megheniskoyt in North Wales, which he holds in chief, and for the said John to re-grant them to him, Cicely his wife, and their heirs." (*Rot. Pat.*, 7 Ed. III, *p.* 1, *m.* 29; Jan. 1333.)

He was not permitted to remain long in peace. By an undated petition, but which is of the year 1337-8, Thomas complains to the king and his council that he has been disseised of his lands by John de Cherleton; he has started an action against the aggressor, but de Cherleton has been able to stay the proceedings, wherefore he,

of Plas yn Dinas, now [1872] in the possession of the Rev. W. C. E. Kynaston, of Hardwick. It is called a mesne manor, within the manor of Mechain Iscoed; and, in fact, is not substantially a manor, being parcelled off from the above lordship. Sometime previous to A.D. 1568, a claim had been made by Edward Kynaston, of Hordley, an ancestor of the late Sir J. R. Kynaston, of Hardwick and Hordley, to the title and possessions of the Charletons and Greys, Lords of Powys, on the ground of the alleged illegitimacy of Edward Grey, then in possession. The suit was compromised by the surrender of the portions of Mechain Iscoed called Plas yn Dinas and Trewern with all their rights, liberties and seigniorities, to Kynaston, and the deed bears date 10 Eliz. 1568. . . . . Where this Dinas was has never been satisfactorily shewn. The old entrenchment by the river Efernwy can scarcely be thought so. This is a construction of very early date, and has not on it the least vestige of any buildings, which could scarcely have failed to exist, had there been any, in 10 Eliz. 1568. The word 'Plas,' prefixed, will serve to shew that there was a residence, a mansion existing somewhere in the manor, at the time; and Welshmen will remember that 'Plas' is a comparatively modern term, never applied to the fortified and stronger abodes of the ancients. The origin of the name, Plas yn Dinas, and the site, are matters still to be sought for." Elsewhere in the same article the writer, speaking of the farm called "Ty Coch," says that it is "in the very heart" of the manor of Plas yn Dinas.

Thomas, prays redress. The petition is in the following terms:—

(*Public Record Office: Ancient Petitions. No.* 10310.)

"A n're seign'r le Roi 't son conseil monstre son bacheler Thomas Rotherik q' come il porta vue assise de nouele disseisine v[ersu]s Johan de Cherleton' 't Hawise sa fem'e 't Johan le fitz Johan de Cherleton' 't aut's de son f[r]aunk ten[auntes] en g'aunt Moleneok 't aut's villes en la Marche de Gales, la quele assise feut delaie g'uunt temps auant lan unzisme, quel an le dit Johan de Cherleton' p[ar] cause qil estoit ordine Justice Dirlande pa[r]chacea un bref a les Justices des assises a continuer la dite assise tanq' il demorast issint en Irlaund, et puis ap's se vonie en Engla'de les ditz Johan 't Hawise responderent come tenant, 't le dit Johan fitz Johan 't touz les aut's nomez en le bref firent defaute p' qi defaute lassise feut agarde deu's eux, et puis p' excepcions 't alleggances compassez nient v'itablement feurent ajournez en com'un Bank ou plede feust alassise 't la dite assise remande en pais a p'ndre come piert p' le teno'r de la dite assise qest cosu a ceste peticion, et ore en le men temps le dit Johan fitz Johan compassant a delaier la dite assise plus auant, 't est ale outre meer, 't ad p'rchace un bref a les dites Justices a continuer lassise tanq' il dem'ra la outre, 't puis son aler le dit Johan de cherlton ad feffe le dit Johan fitz Johan 't aut's, la ou ils ne ancient riens deuant en les ditz tenz, p' qoi les dites Justices ne ont mie volu de aler a lassise. Dont le dit Thomas p[ri]e p[ar] dieu remedie qil ne soit desherite p' cieux faux compassementz."

Thomas's plaint is borne out by the following abstract of an entry upon the patent rolls for 1338:—

"To the justices of the [Common] Bench. Order to continue in the same state in which it now is the assize of novel disseisin which Thomas Retheryk arrained before William de Shareshull and his fellow justices of assize in co. Salop against John de Cherleton, whom the king has appointed justiciary of Ireland, who is staying in that land, and Hawisia his wife, and others contained in the original writ, concerning tenements in Great Meleneok, Thledreth, Kithleveno, Stradeneroy, Thlanershemereys, Bodenwal, Thlannegheyn, Doluaur, Codwynnayn, Roulas, Garthloulgh, and Pymyrth, which assize is adjourned before the justices on account of certain difficulties in it, while John is staying in the king's service in accordance with the ordinance made at Nottingham." (*Rot. Pat.*, 11 Ed. III, *p.* 2, *m.* 8*d.*)

It would seem that the quarrel resulted in Thomas's favour. At any rate he continued in legal if not physical possession of the manor; but fresh arrangements were soon entered into, as appears by the following:—

"Licence in consideration of a fine made by John de Cherleton, the elder, for Thomas Rotherik, knight, to enfeoff William de Lake, chaplain, and Robert de Blakenhale, chaplain, of the manor of Dynas, held in chief, and for them to regrant the same in tail to him and Cicily his wife, with remainder in tail to the said John and Hawisia his wife, and reversion to the right heirs of Hawisia. By fine of £20 paid in the hanaper." (*Rot. Pat.*, 15 Ed. III, *p.* 2, *m.* 46; 4 June 1341.)[1]

This is practically the last we learn of Thomas in connection with the manor of Dinas, until we come to the inquisition into that property taken after his death in A.D. 1364.

There is, however, one interesting event in Thomas's career which has been brought to light by these researches, namely, his claim to succeed to the cantred of Lleyn (co. Carnarvon) as next heir to his uncle, Owen ap Gruffudd. It is necessary to devote our attention to this incident, since its failure may have engendered feelings of resentment towards the English in the mind of Thomas or of his son.

Owen ap Gruffudd has always been regarded as having been the eldest son of Gruffudd ap Iorwerth, Llewelyn coming next, David next, and Rhodri last, with possibly a Gruffudd coming between David and Rhodri.[2] The

[1] Entries connected with the same transaction will also be found upon the Originalia Roll for the 15 Ed. III, and in the Inq. post mortem for the same year.

[2] We learn from the patent roll of the 3rd Edward III, that there was also a sister named Margaret, who is altogether unknown to our writers of history, a circumstance which may be commended to those who are clamouring for the teaching of Welsh history in our colleges. According to the Record Office *Calendar* she had lands in Bodeneham and Thleu, places which are indexed as Bodenham and

masterful temper of Llewelyn soon gave him the lead over his brothers, with the almost necessary result, under the tribal form of political and social administration, of driving Owen and David into strong opposition. By the compact with Edward the First in 1277, the English king compelled Llewelyn to consent to admit both Owen and David into the overlordship, the one of the cantred of Lleyn, the other of the 'dominium' of Snowdon; but whether the arrangement was actually carried out, or how the particular divisions were allocated, is recorded by no chronicle or record so far as I am aware.[1] But we do learn from the documents now to be submitted that Lleyn had, at some time, come into the possession of Owen. He is not mentioned as having taken any part in the last struggle of Llewelyn and David, and the silence of the chroniclers has led to the inference that he was already dead. This was probably not the case. It is more likely that by standing aloof from the unexpected

Thleu, respectively, without suggestion that they relate to Wales. Thleu is, of course, a misreading for Thlen=Lleyn; but it is more difficult to identify Bodenham or Bodeneham. Two places in the adjoining commote of Gaflogion appear in the *Rec. of Caernarvon* as Bodenael (p. 27), and Botenytheth (p. 30). It may be well to mention that in the same index 'Margaret' does not appear under the letter M, but is referred to under 'Llewelyn.'

[1] In the early part of his life David had possessed Lleyn, or some part of it, for in 1252, as dominus de Cwmwd Maen, he entered into a composition with the abbot and convent of Bardsey (*Rec. of Caernarvon*, 252). He was probably despoiled of this property by his brother Llewelyn during one of their frequent fraternal quarrels. So late as the year 1316 we find a release to the abbot and convent of Cymmer of a sum of 39*s.* which had been unjustly extorted from them by David ap Gruffud, brother of Llewelin, prince of Wales, and lord of the Cantred of Thleyn. (*Rot. Pat.*, 9 Ed. II, *p.* 1, *m.* 4.) This entry provides us with a date for some of the important petitions included in the *Record of Caernarvon*, p. 217 *et seq.*, which, in the preface to that work (p. iv), appear to be attributed to the 33 Ed. III.

and, in the main, unjustifiable outbreak of his brothers, he secured the commendations and rewards of Edward, and either received or was continued in the lordship of Lleyn. He died before the year 1307. At some period after the accession of Edward the Third (1327) his nephew Thomas presented a petition to the king and his council praying that directions should be given to the justices, (presumably of North Wales), to enquire into his right to succeed the said Owen as his next heir. The petition runs as follows:—

(*Public Record Office: Ancient Petitions. No. 6790.*)

"A le Roi 't a son conseil monstre Thomas Rotheryk' qe p[ar] la . . . . dit Thomas ad suy p' diu[er]ses petitions . . . . parlementz 't de s[ur] celes petitions ad eu diu'ses briefs as diu'ses Justices denquere p'r le heritage de dit Thomas cest assauoir p'r les t[er]res de Thlen en Northwales les queux lui dussent descendre auxicom le droit de . . . . cle . . . . p'schein heir cest assauoir Owayn ap Griffith m[our]ust en son demeigne com de fee 't a la f . . . . dit seign'r le Roi d'au[oir] c[er]tifie la Court des choses contenus en les dites briefs . . . . queux Justices rien ne volemt faire ne c'tifier . . . . a n're dit seign'r le Roi a son conseil qils voillent comander briefs as Justices denquere si le dit Owayn m[ou]rust come au[an]t est dit, et si le dit Thomas soit heir pluis p'schein com auant est dit 't s'r ces ret'rner [l]enquest essent q' le dit Thomas ne soit . . . . es delaye de son droit."

A writ of the king was accordingly issued in these terms:—

(*Ancient Petitions. No. 6791.*)

"Rex ad Camerarium nostrum de Northwallia vel ejus locum tenentem, Salutem. Monstravit nobis Thomas filius Rotherici ap Griffith per peticionem suam coram nobis . . . . apud North[1] convocato exhibitam quod cum Audoenus ap Griffith auunculus prædicti Thome cujus heres ipse est dudum tempore Edwardi Regis Angliæ avi nostri tenuisset Cantredum de Thlen in Northwallia ut hereditatem suam et inde obiisset seisitus ad fidem ipsius . . . . et post

[1] Northampton. Parliaments of Edward the Third were held here in 1328, 1336 and 1338.

cujus mortem dictus avus noster Cantredum prædictum eo quod de dicto avo nostro tenebatur in capite capi fecit in manum suam per quod dictus Rothericus frater et heres præfati Audoeni per peticiones suas in diversis parliamentis dicti avi nostri exhibitas sequebatur de seisina cantredi prædicti habenda, et quod in prosecucione sua hujusmodi antiquam seisinam Cantredi prædicti assecutus fuit [die quo] obiit per quod dictum Cantredum in manu dicti avi n'ri et postmodum in manu domini E. nuper Regis Angliæ patris n'ri hujusmodi occacione extitit et adhuc in manu n'ra existit super quibus idem Thomas per peticionem suam prædictam nobis supplicavit ut sibi super liberacione Cantredi prædicti justiciam facere curaremus: Nos igitur eidem Thomæ in hac parte fieri volentes quod est iustum vobis mandamus quod per inquisiciones inde faciendas et aliis viis et modis quibus melius poteritis nos diligenter informetis si dictus Audoenus fuit seisitus de Cantredo prædicto in dominico suo ut de feodo die quo obiit. Et si dictum Cantredum ad manum dicti avi n'ri per mortem ipsius Audoeni devenit et adhuc in manu n'ra existit ut prædictum est et qualiter et quo modo et si dictus Thomas propinquior hæres ejus sit et cujus ætatis et quantum Cantredum prædictum valeat per annum in omnibus exitibus et de eo quod inde inveniri contigerit nos distincte et aperte sub sigillis vestris et sigillis eorum per quos facta fuerit inquisicio in Cancellaria n'ra sine dilatione reddatis certiores. Teste, etc."

It is possible that a return was made to this writ, and that it may be entered upon the rolls of some branch of the administration that have not yet been examined. It has not yielded itself up to a diligent search, and we are accordingly left with a half-told tale. We do know, however, that Thomas did not obtain the object of his petition.

Thomas died in May 1363, having survived his wife a little less than two years. The king's writ to the escheator of Salop, dated Westminster, the 1st of June in the 37th year of his reign, for the customary inquisition into his estate, is prefixed to the return, which is as follows:—

(*Inquisitiones post mortem. 37 Ed. III, No. 59, first nos.*)

" Inquisitio capta apud Salop' coram Ph'o de Lutteley escaetore domini Regis in comitatu Salop' ac marchiis Walliæ eidem comitatui adjacente, septimo die Junii anno regni Regis Edwardi tercii post conquestum tricesimo septimo virtute brevis domini Regis huic inquisitioni consuti per sacramentum Iuain ap Ior', Eyno' ap Ior',

Eyno' ap Griffri, Ior' ap Tud'r, Ior' ap Griffri, ll' ap Griffri, Ieus' ap Ior' ap D'd, Dauid ap M'ed', M'ed' ap Tud'r M'ed' ap Gruffud, Mad' ap Ken' et Cad' Vagha', Qui dicunt super sacramentum suum quod Thomas Rothery chivaler defunctus in brevi contentus non tenuit aliquas terras seu tenementa de domino Rege in capite in dominico suo ut de feodo die quo obiit in balliva mea, nec de aliquo alio, sed dicunt quod prædictus Thomas tenuit die quo obiit manerium de Dynas de d'no Rege in capite sibi et Ceciliæ uxori ejus et heredibus de corporibus ipsorum Thomæ et Ceciliæ exeuntibus, et si predicti Thomas et Cecilia obierunt sine herede de corporibus suis exeunte, tunc post decessum ipsorum Thomæ et Ceciliæ prædictum manerium cum pertinentiis in tegre remaneret Johanni de Cherleton seniori et Hawisiæ uxori ejus et heredibus de corporibus ipsorum Johannis et Hawisiæ exeuntibus, tenendum de d'no Rege et heredibus suis per servicia quæ ad prædictum pertinentin perpetuum, secundum tenorem cujusdam finis in Curia domini Regis levati prout in prædicto fine plenius continetur. Et dicunt quod prædictus Thomas tenuit manerium prædictum de domino Rege in capite in forma prædicta per servicium quartæ partis unius feodi militis. In quo quidem manerio est unum capitale messuagium quod nichil valet p' annum ultra repris'. Et sunt ibidem decem acræ t're arabiles in d'nico quarum quælibet acra valet p' annum viij*s*. Et sunt ibidem duæ acræ prati quarum acra valet p' annum ij*s*. Et est ibidem quidam boscus separalis cujus herbagium valet p' annum ij*s*. Et subboscus ejusdem nullus. Et sunt ibidem duo molendina aquatica quæ valent p' annum xx*s*. Et est ibidem de redditu assisæ liberorum tenentium et nativorum decem marcæ p' annum solvendæ ad f'm omnium sanctorum. Et opera custumaria ibidem in autumpno ad messionem bladorum d'ni valent p' annum iiij*s*. Placita et perquisita Curiæ ibidem valent p' annum xl*s*. Item dicunt quod prædictus Thomas obiit xxix die Maii ultimo prædicto [præterito] sine heræde de corporibus ipsorum Thome et Ceciliæ uxoris ejus exeunte. Et dicunt quod prædicta Cecilia obiit xij die Septembr' anno regni Regis Edwardi tercii post conquestum tricesimo quinto. Item dicunt quod prædictum manerium de Dynas cum suis pertinentiis integre remanere debet Joh'i de Cherleton' chivaler d'no Powisiæ filio et herædi Joh'is de Cherleton' chivaler filii et herædis Joh'is de Cherleton' senioris et Hawisiæ qui sunt partes finis prædicti, eo quod prædicti Thomas Rothery et Cecilia uxor ejus obierunt sine heræde de corporibus ipsorum Thomæ et Ceciliæ exeunte. Et dicunt quod prædictus Joh'es de Cherleton' chivaler hic [? fil'] prædicti Joh'is de Cherleton senioris dominus Powisiæ est ætatis viginti sex annorum et amplius. In cujus rei testimonium huic inquisitioni juratores prædicti sigilla sua apposuerunt." [The seals are not now appendant.]

Two points of importance in this document call for remark. Firstly, it will be noticed that Thomas is said to have held no land of the king in chief except only the manor of Dynas, a statement corroborated by a later inquisition which will be dealt with presently. Tatsfield he had parted with, and Budefeld he held of the earl of Hereford. The Cheshire manor of Althurst would be held of the prince of Wales as earl of Chester. The second point is that he is described as leaving no heir, whereby the manor of Dynas passed to John de Cherleton in virtue of the fine that had been levied. Now, were this statement correct, the hypothesis upon which we have proceeded would instantly be seen to be baseless, and our entire argument would collapse. But it can be demonstrated by the following most interesting entry upon the rolls of the court of Chancery that the jurors at Salop were mistaken :—

(*Public Record Office : Placita de Cancellaria. No. 67.*)

" Placita coram domino Rege in Cancellaria sua apud Westmonasterium in crastino sancti Martini anno regni Regis Edwardi tercii a conquestu tricesimo nono.

" Dominus Rex mandavit breve suum vicecomiti Salop' in hæc verba; Edwardus dei gratia Rex Angliæ, dominus Hiberniæ et Aquitaniæ vicecomiti Salop', Salutem. Cum per inquisicionem per Philipem de Lutteleye escaetorem nostrum in com. prædicto de mandato nostro factam, et in Cancellaria nostra retornatam sit computum quod Thomas Rotheryk' chivaler, defunctus, tenuit tam in dominico quam in servicio die quo obiit manerium de Dynas cum pertinentiis in Marchia Walliæ de nobis in capite per servicium militare, et quod Audoenus filius prædicti Thomæ est heres ejusdem Thomæ propinquior et est plene ætatis, quodque Johannes de Chorleton' chivaler, dominus de Powys clamans jus in manerio prædicto post mortem prædicti Thomæ per finem inde in curia nostra levatum supponendo ipsum Thomam fore mortuum et nullum heredem de corpore prædicti Thomæ procreatum esse superstitem, eo quod idem Audoenus tunc in longinquis partibus existit seisinam de manerio prædicto cum pertinentiis a nobis prosecutus fuit et nobis homagium pro eodem manerio fecit et exitus et proficua inde hucusque percepit, per quod

idem Audoenus nobis supplicavit ut cum manerium prædictum cum pertinentiis præfato Johanni in ipsius Audoeni exheredationem liberatum existit velimus ei super hoc de remedio congruo facere providere, Nos volentes in hac parte fieri quod est justum tibi præcipimus quod scire faciatis præfato Johanni quod sit coram nobis in Cancellaria nostra in crastino S'ci Martini proximo futuro ubicunque tunc fuerit ad ostendendum siquid pro se habeat vel dicere sciat quare manerium prædictum cum pertinentiis in manum nostram resumi et præfato Audoeno ut filio et propinquiori heredi ejusdem Thomæ liberari nobisque de exitibus ejusdem manerii a tempore mortis ejusdem Thomæ per ipsum Johannem perceptis responderi non debeat et ad faciendum ulterius et recipiendum quod curia nostra consideraverit in hac parte. Et habeas ibi nomina illorum per quos ei scire feceris et hoc breve. Teste me ipso apud Westmonasterium decimo die Octobris anno regni nostri tricesimo nono.

"Ad quem diem prædictus Joh'es de Chorleton' per Johannem de Lancastre clericum attornatum suum venit et dicit quod quidam finis levatus fuit in curia domini Regis apud Westmonasterium a die sanctæ Trinitatis in xv dies anno regni Edwardi regis Angliæ tercii a conquestu xv, coram Rogero Hilary et sociis suis tunc justiciariis, etc. inter Thomam Rotheryk' chivaler et Ceciliam uxorem ejus quærentes et Willelmum de Lake capellanum et Robertum de Blakemale capellanum deforcientes, de manerio prædicto cum pertinentiis quod quidem manerium est in Marchia Walliæ per quem quidem finem prædictus Thomas recognovit manerium prædictum cum pertinentiis esse jus ipsorum Willelmi et Roberti ut illud quod iidem Willelmus et Robertus habuerunt de dono prædicti Thomæ, pro qua quidem recognitione fine et concordia iidem Willelmus et Robertus concesserunt prædictis Thomæ et Cecilæ prædictum manerium cum pertinentiis et illud eis reddiderunt in eadem curia habendum et tenendum eisdem Thomæ et Ceciliæ et hæredibus de corporibus ipsorum Thomæ et Ceciliæ exeuntibus de domino Rege et heredibus suis per servicia que ad prædictum manerium pertinenda inperpetuum, ita quod si iidem Thomas et Cecilia obierunt sine herede de corporibus suis exeunte quod . . . . . manerium prædictum cum pertinentiis integre remaneret Johanni de Chorleton' seniori et Hawisiæ uxori ejus et heredibus de corporibus ipsorum Johanni [et Hawisiæ] exeuntibus, tenendum in forma prædicta, etc. Ita quod si iidem Johannes et Hawysia obierunt sine herede de corporibus suis exeunte manerium prædictum cum pertinentiis integre remaneret rectis heredibus ipsius Hawisiæ tenendum in forma prædicta, et dicit quod prædicti Johannes et Hawisia obierunt et ipse Johannes de Chorleton' junior est consanguineus et heres prædictorum Joh'is et Hawisiæ videlicet

filius Joh'is filii prædictorum Joh'is de Chorleton' senioris et Hawisiæ et heres ipsius Hawisiæ in forma prædicta, et dicit quod tempore mortis prædicti Thomæ et per plures annos antea prædictus Audoenus fuit in partibus longinquis, ita quod de esse ipsius Audoeni non habebat noticia prout per inquisitionem virtute cujusdam brevis domini Regis de diem clausit extremum post mortem prædicti Thomæ coram Philipo de Lutteleye escaetore domini Regis computum fuit per quod prædictus Johannes de Chorleton' junior virtute finis et inquisitionis prædictorum per debitum processum in Cancellaria domini Regis factum ut consanguineus . . . . prædicti Johannis de Chorleton' senioris et Hawisiæ seisinam et liberationem de manerio prædicto optinuit, et sic salvo sibi et heredibus suis vel suo virtute finis prædicti per jus de remanere juxta tenorem finis illius non dedicit quin prædictus Audoenus . . . . et heres prædictorum Thomæ et Ceciliæ de corporibus ipsorum Thomæ et Ceciliæ et ei dictum manerium per mortem prædicti Thomæ patris sui . . . . Audoeno ut filio et heredi præfati Thomæ liberari debet, per quod consideratum est quod prædictum manerium . . . . Audoeno liberetur, salvis Regi exitibus de eodem manerio tempore mortis prædicti Thomæ perceptis de . . . . . ad scaccarium suum."

The insuperable obstacle with which we were confronted turns out, therefore, to be no obstacle at all; but, were it not for the fortunate preservation of the above document it would have been impossible ever to have proved the identification of Owen of Wales with the family of Griffith ap Llewelyn ap Iorwerth. Thomas ap Rhodri died leaving a son, and that son succeeded in making good his claim to his father's estate. Owen was away in foreign parts, and probably did not hear of his father's death until many months after its occurrence.

Now, it is clear that in order to prepare and present his petition to the king Owen must have returned to this country probably at least six months before November 1365, when the decree of the Chancellor was pronounced which restored the manor of Dynas to its rightful owner. But if it was double the length of time (and it could not well have been more) it cannot be said that he had suffered much by the law's delays. It is possible that he had to

take legal proceedings for the assertion of his claim of succession to the little estate in Budefeld, and to his reversionary rights in Tatsfield; or it may be that the decision of the Chancellor in his favour in respect of the most important of his possessions was at once accepted as applicable to the rest. How long he had been away from England, or what had been his career, it is impossible to conjecture. Froissart says that Owen de Galles had come to the court of France quite a youth, had become a favourite with the king, and had fought, presumably (though by no means necessarily), upon the French side at Poictiers (A.D. 1356). It is somewhat difficult to credit the last statement, as it is improbable that he would have ventured back to England a few years later, unless, indeed, upon learning of his father's death he had made his peace with the English king and his council. And had he been known to have fought in the ranks of the French it is probable that some remark thereupon would have been made in the record of the proceedings before the Chancellor. But the evident fact that his existence was quite unknown to the jurors who served upon the inquest taken at Shrewsbury upon his father's death, points to the conclusion that he had been long absent from England. The jury upon that occasion was formed entirely of Welshmen, several of whom at least, from the necessity of obtaining local information respecting the character and value of the property, would have come from the manor of Dynas. They may have been coerced by fear of de Cherleton, who was upon the spot, but the difficulty could have been got over by returning what is termed an open verdict. It is, indeed, impossible to resist the conclusion that they knew nothing of Owen; and if they, the tenants of Dynas, knew little, how much less the rest of the Principality.

Events were peaceful in England, and the quiet life of

a country gentleman probably did not accord with the restless and adventurous spirit of Owen. In less than six months he had turned his back upon England, which he was destined never to see again. According to his own statement, made a few years later, he proceeded to divers foreign courts, pouring into unsympathetic ears the story of his wrongs, and dragging

"at each remove a lengthening chain."

So long as he continued the heart-breaking course of a political refugee the English authorities appear to have taken no heed of him.[1] He at last determined upon renewing his acquaintance with the French court, and thither he proceeded.

The affairs of France were at their worst when the accession of Charles the Fifth, in April 1364, aroused hopes in the partizans of that country that a policy of more determined resistance to the English would be adopted. Owen's previous acquaintance with the young nobles of the French court would naturally lead him to side with them in the struggle that everything portended was soon about to be re-opened; or he may have joined one of the bands of Free Companies that were impartially preying upon the territories of both parties. Preparations had been going on for some time, and on the 29th April 1369 war was declared

[1] Woodward, *History of Wales*, ii, 564, says that Owen "served under Dugueselin in the war respecting the possession of the throne of Castile between Peter the Cruel and Henry of Transtamare." There is no evidence that Owen took part in the Spanish war of 1366-7, and the fact that his English estates were not then confiscated proves that he was not known to be fighting against the Black Prince in that campaign. Woodward is also wrong in stating that, "in the course of this war it happened that the earl of Pembroke and some of his knights were made prisoners by the French; whereupon Yvain, hearing of it, went and taunted the earl," &c. This incident took place, as we shall see, several years after the Spanish war.

between France and England. Whatever may be thought of the nature of Owen's position amongst the French prior to this date, it is clear that his continuance with them, and open and active hostility to their enemies, transformed him, from the English point of view, into a traitor and enemy to the English king. His property in this country was forfeited, and in order to know its character and extent the following inquisitions were taken :—

(*Public Record Office: Inquisitiones post mortem. 43 Edward III, Part 2, No. 4 second numbers.*)

[The writs issued to the several escheators are in identical terms. They commence]—"Quia pro certo didicimus quod Owínus ap Thomas Rotherik inimicis nostris de Francia est adherens et cum ipsis inimicis nostris contra nos et fideles nostros in partibus transmarinis de guerra equitavit contra fidem et ligeanciam suam, per quod omnia terræ et tenementa bona et catalla sua infra regnum nostrum Angliæ et alibi infra potestatem nostram ad nos tanquam nobis forisfacta dignoscuntur pertinere, Nos volentes, etc.

"Inquisitio capta apud le Pole [Welshpool] coram Willelmo Banastre de Yorton, escaetore domini Regis in comitatu Salop' et Marchiis Walliæ eidem comitatui adjacente xxiij° die Decembris anno regni regis Edwardi tercii post conquestum quadragesimo tercio virtute brevis domini Regis huic inquisitioni consuti per sacramentum Willelmi Scherer, Ricardi Symmes, Joh'is le Smyth, Ricardi Rot', Meredith ap Griffith, Howel ap Tudur, Morgan Loyd, Eynon ap Ior', Madok ap Ken'uic, Madok ap Howel, Yevan Scholayg, et Madoc Says, Qui dicunt super sacramentum suum quod Owinus ap Thomas Rotherik inimicis domini Regis de Francia adherens habuit et tenuit die adhesionis videlicet xx° die Octobris ultimo præterito manerium de Dynas cum pertinentiis in Marchiis Walliæ prædicto com' Salop' adjacentem in feodo talliato secundum formam cujusdam finis in curia d'ni Regis levati prout continetur in quadam cedula huic inquisitioni consuta.[1] In quo quidem manerio de Dynas est unum capitale[m] messuagium quod nichil valet p' annum ultra reprisas.

[1] A copy of the final concord is appended to the inquisition, but as its terms are accurately set forth in the Chancery proceedings already dealt with, it is omitted here.

Et est ibidem una carucata terræ que val' p' annum xx*s.*
„ quedam placea prati que val' p' a'm xiij*s.* iiij*d.*
„ quoddam molendinum aquaticum dimissum ad firmam pro xx*s.*
p' annum solvend' ad terminos Annunc' b'te Mariæ et S. Mich'is equis porcionibus
„ quidam boscus vocatur Fryth Dynas cujus herbagium val' p' a' ij*s.*
„ quedam placea pasturæ separalis subtus boscum prædictum quæ val' p' a' v*s.*
„ quidam alius boscus vocatur Garthboulch cujus pastura val' p' a' iiij*s.*
„ de redditu assisæ tam liberorum tenentium quam nativorum p' a' solvend' ad f'm S. Martini vj*li.*
„ quidam redditus frumenti viij^{xx} hop' p' a', solvend' ad f'm S. Martini quorum quilibet hop' valet iiij*d.* [liij*s.* iiij*d.*]
„ de putura equorum d'ni quolibet anno de nativis quinque gogerettas aven' solvend' ad f'm S. Martini quorum quilibet gogerett' val' ij*s.* [x*s.*]
„ de putura Raglot' p' a' solvend' ad f'm Purificationis beatæ Mariæ [x*s.*]
„ de putura equi Raglot' v quart' aven' p' a' quarum quodlibet quart' valet ij*s.* [x*s.*]
Et sunt ibidem de redditu gallinarum de nativis ibidem xl gallinæ solv' ad f'm Natalis D'ni pretium gallinæ j*d.* ob'. [v*s.*]
Et est ibidem quidam redditus Kylchwyr xx*s.*
p' a' solv' ad f'm Pur' b'tæ Mariæ
„ quidam redditus Caousty [caws-dy] x*s.*
p' a' solv 'ad f'm Apostolorum Philippi et Jacobi
Et sunt ibidem v opera unius hominis per unum diem[1] in autumpno, precium operis per unum diem et unius hominis ij*d.* [xvj*s.* viij*d.*]
Placita et perquisita curiæ ibidem val' p' a' c*s.*
Et dicunt quod dictus Owinus non habuit nec tenuit aliqua alia terras vel tenementa nec habuit aliqua bona seu catalla in comitatu

[1] A total of 100 works is required to make up the full amount.

seu Marchiis prædictis die adhesionis prædicte. In cujus rei testimonium presentibus juratores prædicti sigilla sua apposuerunt die et loco et anno supradictis."

[endorsed] "Summa valoris particuloris manerii infrascripti [per annum] xx*li.* xix*s.* iiij*d.*"

"Inquisitio capta apud Kyngefeld in comitatu Surrey coram Johanne de Bisshopeston escaetore domini Regis in comitatu prædicto xix die Novembris anno regni regis Edwardi tercii post conquestum xliij° virtute cujusdam brevis domini Regis huic inquisitioni consuti per sacramentum Joh'is Coddeston, Walteri Colgrim, Joh'is Bodesham, Ricardi Parker, Ricardi Carbonel, Ricardi Daas, Joh'is atte War', Henricus atte Herne, Willelmi Taylor, Willelmi Perham, Willelmi Snowte et Jacobi de Enyngfeld, juratores, Qui dicunt super sacramentum suum quod Owynus ap Thomas Retherik in brevi contentus non habuit aliqua terras seu tenementa bona nec catalla in com' prædicto die quo adhesit inimicis d'ni Regis de Francia et cum ipsis contra d'num Regem et fideles suos in partibus transmarinis de guerra equitavit contra fidem et ligeanceam suam. Dicunt enim quod idem Owynus discessit a partibus Angliæ circa festum Annunciationis beatæ Mariæ anno regni Regis nunc quadragesimo et postea cum dictis inimicis conversatus est et eis adhesit et adhuc est adherens ut intelligunt. Dicunt tamen quod tempore quo discessit ab Anglia ut præfertur nulla habuit terras seu tenementa bona seu catalla in com. prædicto ut prædictum est. Set dicunt quod Thomas Retherik pater prædicti Owyni fuit quondam seisitus de manerio de Tatlesfeld et cum advocatione ecclesiæ ejusdem manerii cum pertinentiis in dominico suo ut de feodo in com' prædicto, qui quidem Thomas manerium et advocationem prædicta cum pertinentiis concessit Stephano Bradepul parsone ecclesiæ de Tatlesfeld, Rogero de Stanyngdenn et Alano Lambard ad terminum vitæ eorum, et postea dictus Thomas relaxavit dicto Rogero imperpetuum totum jus et clameum quod habuit in revertione manerii et advocationis prædictorum et prædicti Stephanus Bradepul et Alanus Lambard attornaverunt se dicto Rogero de revertione manerii et advocationis prædictorum. Et postea prædicti Stephanus Rogerus et Alanus concesserunt manerium et advocationem prædictum cum pertinentiis d'no Thome Dovedal et heredibus suis, habendum et tenendum prædicto d'no Thome et heredibus suis ad terminum vitæ eorundum Stephani Rogeri et Alani. Et dicunt quod diei postea vid' die Martis in festo Sancti Blasii [3° Februarii] anno xl° d'ni Regis nunc prædictus Owynus antequam sese recessit ab Anglia ut prædictum est similiter relaxavit dicto Rogero et heredibus suis de se et heredibus suis totum jus et clamium

(*sic*) quæ habuit vel habere potuerit in revertione manerii et advocationis prædictorum. Et dicunt quod dictum manerium tenetur de Archiepiscopo Cantuariense per fidem ut de manerio de Otteford et quod valet per annum in omnibus exitibus juxta verum valorem ejusdem vij. *li.* In cujus rei testimonium tam prædictus escaetor quam prædicti juratores huic inquisitioni indentato sigilla sua alternatim apposuerunt. Datum die anno et loco supradictis.

" Inquisitio capta apud Gloucestr' coram Willelmo Auncell escaetore d'ni Regis in com' Glouc' et Hereford' et Marchiis Walliæ eisdem com' adjacent' xx° die Januarii anno regni Regis Edwardi tercii post conquestum xliij° virtute brevis d'ni Regis huic inquisitioni consuto per sacramentum Joh'is Hatherleye, Rogeri le Yonge, Joh'is Pygace, Simonis Brokworth, Thome Lesty, Walteri Lydeneye, Joh'is Stonehouse, Hugonis Clyffale, Joh'is Maldon, Willelmi Walsshe, Joh'is atte Halle et Joh'is Keck, Qui dicunt per sacramentum suum quod Owynus ap Thomas Retheryk in brevi nominatus qui est adherens inimicis d'ni Regis de Francia et cum ipsis inimicis d'ni Regis contra d'num Regem et fideles suos in partibus transmarinis de guerra equitavit contra fidem et ligeanceam suam tenuit die adhesionis prædicte unum messuagium et unam carucatam terræ et dimidiam cum pertinentiis in Budefeld in prædicto Com' Glouc' que valent per annum x*s.* quando seminantur, et quando non seminantur nihil valent per annum quia jacent in communi et nunc jacent frisce et inculte in dominico suo ut de feodo de comite Hereford' per servicium militare. Item sunt ibidem quatuor acræ bosci quæ nihil valent quia erat prostratus [*sic*] per prædictum Owynum, et jacent in communi. Item tenuit ibidem xviij acras prati quarum quælibet acra valet per annum xij*d.* quando fulcari et levari potest, et herbagium ejusdem prati post falcacionem nihil valet per annum quia jacet in communi. Item tenuit ibidem in forma prædicta de redditu assisæ tam liberorum tenentium quam custumariorum xxxvj*s.* per annum solvendos ad terminos S'ci Martini, Annunciationis beatæ Mariæ et Nativitatis S'ci Johannis Baptistæ equis portionibus. Et dicunt quod placita et perquisita curiæ ibidem valent per annum xij*d.* Et dicunt quod prædictus Owynus non tenuit aliqua alia terras seu tenementa de d'no Rege in capite nec de aliquo alio die adhesionis prædicto in com' et Marchiis prædictis. Et dicunt quod idem Owynus non habuit aliqua bona seu catalla prædicto die adhesionis in com' et Marchiis prædictis. Et dicunt quod adhesit inimicis d'ni Regis de Francia xiijdie Octobris ultimo præterito ut intelligunt. In cujus rei testimonium præsentibus juratores prædicti sigilla sua apposuerunt die et loco et anno supradictis."

It will be observed that the senior male representative of the ancient line of North Wales princes—if Owen was really such—had sunk very low. According to the most liberal methods of computation his entire estate could not have amounted to more than £500 per annum of our present money. His only place of residence was the paltry house at Budefeld with its carucate and a half of land in the common fields of the manor. The capital messuage of Dynas was in such a condition as to swallow up its value in outgoings. After a youth spent amid the increasingly luxurious appointments of the French court and the excitement of its constant occupation, Owen, upon his return to his mean patrimony and quiet days in England, must have felt his occupation gone. His mind was soon made up. The jurors who met at Welshpool date his defection from the 20th October 1369; those of county Gloucester return it as having taken place on the 13th of that month, as they understand; but those of county Surrey state that he withdrew from England about the date of the feast of the Annunciation of the blessed Virgin, that is, the 25th March 1366, and by reason of the business upon which he had returned, namely, the legal recovery of his property, and the probable fact that he had been born and brought up at Tatsfield, it is likely that his movements would be better known to the residents of that manor than to those of the other places where his interests lay.

Owen ap Thomas ap Rhodri, of the princely line of Gwynedd, never returned to his native land. Whether he went entirely alone, or whether he was accompanied by a few followers to whom his lineage was known, and upon whom the glamour of a great name, and the fascination of a lost cause, still held sway, it is impossible to say. The curtain falls upon Owen ap Thomas, but rises again upon

the fortunes of him who was known to his French friends as Owen of Wales.[1]

We have already given Froissart's narrative of the exploits of Owen; but a brief sketch of the events in which we know him to have taken part is essential, in order to bring the personal details noticed by the French chronicler into relation with the circumstances in which they were manifested.

As has been said, war between England and France was declared on the 29th April 1369, and from the very outset it proceeded with ever brightening prospects for the French. In the hope of relieving his country of its horrors by removing its operations to that of his enemy, the French king projected an invasion of England, and to carry out his intention collected a large fleet at Harfleur. The plan was in great measure frustrated by a counter descent of the English upon the northern coast of France. The French preparations were well known in England, where

[1] Christine of Pisa, in his *Vie de Charles V* (Panthéon Littéraire: Chroniques et Mémoires), says that Owen was accompanied by a relative (parent) named Jehan de Vuin (Ieuan Wyn) and that their presence in the French ranks was the signal for the defection of a number of Welshmen who had been serving with the Prince of Wales. Christine's words are as follows:—"Item en cel an dessusdit [1369] arriva en France Yves de Gales, noble escuyer, lequel estoit, comme en disoit, droit heritier de la princée [*al.* principautè] de Gales; et pour la renommée susdicte du bon roy Charles, avoit relainqui [*al.* laissé] les Anglois, et s'estoit venu rendre au roy de France, avec luy un sien parent et compaignon, moult vaillant escuyer, qui jadis avoit esté de la bataille des trente, du costé des Angloiz, appelleé Jehan de Vuin, dit le Poursuivant d'amours, avecques autres Galois moult beauls hommes, nonobstant fussent compaignons du prince de Gales, filz du roy d'Angleterre, et eussent son colier, considerans euls estre par les Angloiz desheritès de leur propre terre et seigneurie; par quoy naturellement les héent [*al.* haissant], relainquirent tout, et avecques autres Françoiz arrivent vers La Rochelle en l'isle de Marene."

steps were at once taken to strengthen the sea coasts. An order, dated the 24th December 1369, was issued to John duke of Lancaster, and to seventeen of the majores barones who held lands in Wales or the Marches, as well as to the sheriffs, keepers of the royal castles, and other officers of the Principality, to safely guard that portion of the realm.[1] One of the commanders of the French squadron was Owen of Wales, whose name we now meet with for the first time as a combatant, and upon an element where we should hardly expect to find him. Nothing appears to have been done upon the sea during the year 1370, but towards the end of that year another and almost identical proclamation issued by the king of England to the great barons having lands in Wales or the Marches (*Fœdera*, vi, 663) shows that an invasion by the French was again apprehended. The year 1371, however, seems to have passed in inactivity, so far as the fleet at Harfleur was concerned, and it is not until 1372 that Owen comes well to the front. On the 8th May of that year king Charles ordered the commissioning

[1] They were ordered to be prepared to resist "maliciæ inimicorum nostrorum predictorum si qui ingredi presumpserint partes illas et omnes homines suspectos in dictis dominiis vestris dictis inimicis adherentes vel de coniva auxilio consilio aut favore suo quomodolibet existentes arestari et sub aresto detineri faceretis. Ita quod nobis et regno nostro aut ligeis nostris ibidem per dictos inimicos nostros seu sibi adherentes dampnum vel periculum non eveniret quoquo modo ac idem per diversos inimicos de die in diem nobis declinantes pro certo didicimus quod dicti inimici nostri cum multitudine navium ac hominum ad arma et armatoria jam supra mare existunt et infra dictum Principatum applicare eundem Principatum subjectio' et dominio suo attrahere ac nos et dictos ligeos nostros pro posse suo nisi celerius et virilius eis manu forti resistatur totalitis destruere et subvertere proponunt et se parant." (*Fœdera*, vi, 642.) It will be noticed that the issue of this proclamation synchronizes very closely with the proceedings taken against Gruffudd Says as an adherent of one Owen Lawgoch, a traitor and enemy of the king, as related in the *Record of Caernarvon*.

of a naval force which was to be commanded by Yevain de Galles (*Froissart*, ed. Kervyn de Lettenhove, viii, 435-7, notes), and two days later Owen issued a declaration, which is given in the appendix to Thierry's *Histoire de la Conquête de l'Angleterre par les Normands* (notes et pièces justificatives, No. 7), and of which the following is a translation:—

"Evain de Gales, to all those to whom these letters shall come, Greeting. The kings of England in past times having treacherously and covetously, tortuously and without cause and by deliberate treasons, slain or caused to be slain my ancestors, kings of Wales, and others of them have put out of their country, and that country have by force and power appropriated and have submitted its people to divers services, the which country is and should be mine by right of succession, by kindred, by heritage, and by right of descent from my ancestors the kings of that country, and in order to obtain help and succour to recover that country which is my heritage, I have visited several christian kings, princes and noble lords, and have clearly declared and shown unto them my rights therein and have requested and supplicated their aid, and have latterly come unto the most puissant and renowned sovereign Charles, by the grace of God king of France, dauphin of Vienne, and have shown unto him my right in the aforesaid country and have made unto him the aforenamed requests and supplications, and he having had compassion upon my state and understanding the great wrong that the kings of England have done unto my ancestors in former times, and that the present king of England has done unto me, and of his beneficent and accustomed clemency in which he is the singular mirror and example amongst christians of justice, grace and mercy to all those that are oppressed and require comforting, has granted me his aid and the assistance of his men-at-arms and fleet in order to recover the said realm, which is my rightful heritage, as has been said; know all ye, therefore, that in return for the great love that my said lord the king of France has shown unto me, and is truly showing by his expenditure of three hundred thousand francs of gold, and more, as well in the pay of men-at-arms, archers and arbalisters as in [the provision of] ships and the pay and expenses of the sailors, in harness and other matters and in various expenses, the which sum I am at the present time not able to furnish, I promise loyally and by my faith and oath upon the holy evangelists, touched corporeally by me, and for my heirs and successors for ever, the aforesaid sum of three

hundred thousand francs of gold I will return and wholly repay, or my heirs and successors or those who may claim through them (ou ceul qui auront cause d'eulx), or by their will or command, without any other terms; and I herewith have made and entered into, for me my heirs and successors and for all my country and subjects for ever, with my said lord the king of France for him and his successors and for all their country and subjects, a good and firm treaty, union and alliance, by which I will aid and assist them by my person, my subjects and my country, to the utmost of my power and loyalty against all persons alive or dead (contre toutes personnes qui povent vivre et mourir). In witness of which I have sealed these letters with mine own seal. Given at Paris the 10th day of May, the year of grace one thousand three hundred and seventy-two."

In this document Owen sets forth both his wrongs and his claims in their most extravagant form, and to these we will return presently; in the meantime we will follow his active career.

Disaster after disaster overtook the English cause in France, amongst those of most serious consequence being the death of Sir John Chandos at the close of 1369, and withdrawal of the Black Prince at the opening of 1371. In the spring of 1372 king Edward determined upon a great effort to recover his lost ground, and preparations were made for the increase of the English forces in France. One fleet was destined for Rochelle, where the castle was strongly held by the English, though a considerable body of the townsmen were known to be partizans of the enemy. Henry of Trastamare, who had become king of Castile in spite of the English opposition, placed his ships at the disposal of the king of France, and so dilatory were the English that the Spanish fleet was in position before the town when the former arrived. The battle that ensued resulted in the total defeat of the English, and the capture of the earl of Pembroke, their commander. The victors at once set sail for their own country, taking their captives with them.

Meanwhile, Owen had sailed from Harfleur with a portion of the French fleet that had been assembled there, and with four thousand men-at-arms. Whether England was his real aim, and the coast of Wales his intended destination, it is impossible to say; at any rate, he got no further than the isle of Guernsey.[1] Here he landed his troops, speedily over-ran the island, and compelled the English garrison to seek shelter in the castle of Cornet.[2] The siege of the castle was being pushed briskly on when events transpired elsewhere which caused Owen's talents to be temporarily diverted to the sphere of diplomacy.

[1] The Baron Kervyn de Lettenhove states that, according to the chronicle of du Guesclin, Owen's plans were for a descent upon England, but that the delay in the sailing of the Spanish fleet, which was to have joined his own, caused him to direct his attentions upon Guernsey.

[2] The *Chronique des Quatre Premiers Valois* is the fullest authority for the attack upon the island, and records an incident in the struggle which Froissart has missed. The story is as follows:—"Le roy de France, pour domagier les Anglois en plusieurs lieux et en plusieurs manieres et sur plusieurs marches, fit une armée en mer d'environ quatorze barges et moult d'autres vaisseaulx. Et en furent chiefz Yvain de Galles et Morelet de Mommor, en leur route bien six cens hommes d'armes, sans les mariniers des vaisseaulx, qui estoient bons guerroiers et hardiz, et sans l'autre menue gent. Et partirent de la fin de la riviere de Seyne, et singlerent vers les ysles de Guernesy. Et comme cil des ysles securent que les Françoiz faisoient armée, ilz le firent scavoir au cappitaine de Saint Sauveur le Viconte. Lequel y envoya hastivement des gens jusquez à quarante hommes d'armes, et autant d'archiers ou plus. Comme ilz furent venuz es ysles, ilz mistrent la gent en conroy sur le port. Et les Françoiz singlerent à plain tref vers les ysles pour pourprendre terre là où estoient la gent du pais armés de telz armes comme ils avoient. Et sachiez que jeunes femmes et les bois-selettes des dictes ysles avoient en ce printemps de lors fait chapeaulx de flours et de violettes et les avoient donnés aux jeunez hommes, et leur disoient que cil se devoient bien deffendre qui les avoient à amies. Et cuidoient ceulx des ysles qu'il n'y eust eu navire de France que mariniers et gens d'eaue. Et comme les Françoiz parvindrent à pourprendre terre, ilz saillirent des vaisseaulx et des barges tres ysnelement et viguereusement armés de toutes

The king of France was quick to perceive the importance of the great naval victory which the Spaniards had just won, and saw his opportunity of capturing the town and

pieces, et vindrent courre sus à ceulx des ysles. Et là oult une dure bataille et pesant. Yvain de Galles et Morelet de Mommor mistrent leur gent en deux batailles, et par force d' armes pristrent terre."

Owen's descent upon the isle lived long in popular remembrance. It formed the subject of song and story even to our own day. A publication entitled *The Guernsey and Jersey Magazine*, which flourished in the thirties, in the course of a series of articles upon the history of the islands, observes:—"Notwithstanding the several truces agreed upon at different times between the English and French, they were so ill observed that the war may be said to have continued till the 8th of May 1360, when a definitive treaty of peace was signed between the two nations, by which king Edward ceded to the French the province of Normandy, but specially reserved to himself the possession of the Channel Islands. This treaty was respected up to the year 1369, when king Charles the Fifth, coming to the French throne, declared war against king Edward, the close of whose reign was not so marked by victory as the early period. Charles, receiving intelligence that the earl of Pembroke had sailed with a fleet of forty ships, to protect the town of Rochelle, which still held out for the English, fitted out a considerable naval armament, of which he gave the command to Yvon de Galles, a pretended Prince of Wales, whose father (it was said) had been put to death by Edward, when he annexed that principality to England. Henry, king of Castile, sent, at the same time, some vessels to join the French, and their united force, meeting the English, gained some advantage over them. Yvon de Galles (as it is said), missing the French fleet, made a descent on Guernsey, popularly called from tradition 'La descente des Saragousais,' from which it is probable that he had not missed them, but attacked the island both with the French and Spanish divisions. However, there were several warm engagements, and a great number of men killed on both sides, and the ground on which New-Town is built is still known by the name of 'La Bataille,' being the scene of one of these encounters. Some French authors have alleged that Yvon de Galles met a body of Englishmen in the island, and not only killed four hundred of them, but also forced the remainder to take shelter in Castle Cornet, after which he plundered the island. Others make no mention of any Englishmen being present, nor of any plundering at all, but admit that four hundred men were killed, as well as confirming the retreat

castle of Rochelle. He accordingly sent in haste to Owen to raise the siege of Cornet, and to follow the Spanish ships with the view of obtaining the king of Castile's consent

of the remainder into Castle Cornet, adding that Yvon de Galles laid siege to it; but that soon afterwards he raised it, and sailed to Spain. . . . . There is an old Guernsey ballad on this invasion, which we shall insert in our next number, as possessing some local interest, but it is to be observed that the poet has borrowed most of his facts from his imagination." In a succeeding number is given the ballad entitled "Owen of Wales." It is poor stuff, but the following stanzas may contain an echo of the effect created by Owen's unexpected visit:—

"O listen, listen, gentles all,
My tale's not over long,
And whether ye be great or small,
Attend unto my song.

"I sing of Owen, prince of Wales,
A chief of royal blood;
He loves a dance in whistling gales,
Far o'er the briny flood.

"His merry men grow old in sin,—
For plunder is their duty,—
Cut, slash and dash, through thick and thin,
Wherever there is booty.

"Norman, French, Arragonian, Turk,
They're of all sorts and sizes,
Black and white villains of all work,
Like rogues at the assizes.

* * * * *

"Owen of Wales, of royal kin,
The leader of the foe,
Sighed for new laurels in the din
Of carnage and of woe.

"Dangers the hero loved and dared,
By disappointment vext;
No peril of this world he feared,
Nor cared he for the next.

to their return to Rochelle. Contrary winds had delayed the Spaniards, so that (according to Froissart) their fleet and Owen's vessel arrived at the port of Santander upon the same day.[1] The English prisoners were disembarked, and it was here that Owen had his dramatic meeting with

"Yet in our isle he found, I ween,
A garter on his thigh;
'Twas neither silk nor velvet sheen,
Though scarlet was the dye.

"For nigh the mill of La Carrière,
As the rash leader came,
Stout Richard gashed him with a spear
That never missed its aim.

"Then whirled in air a trusty brand,
And felt his bosom glow,
Yet only hacked Sir Owen's hand
With a tremendous blow.

* * * * *

"Eighty good English merchant men
Arrived at close of day,
And old king Charles' merry men
For mercy 'gan to pray.

* * * * *

"Nettled with rage at this defeat,
Sir Owen, full of cares,
Now gave the word—the hostile fleet
To Sampson's harbour steers.

"Then to St. Michael's priory,
Ellen, his lady fair,
Hastened in all bravery,
And found sweet welcome there.

"(Sir Owen woo'd the lovely dame,
In Gravelle's wealthy land;
Proud heiress of a noble name,
She claimed a prince's hand.)"

[1] The writer of the letter in the *Arch. Camb* (3rd Ser. vi, 62) makes it clear that Owen was at Santander in the month of July 1372. He there drew out a receipt to which is appended a seal described as bearing "four lions rampant gardant," the arms of Thomas Retheric

the earl of Pembroke. Owen's mission was completely successful, and the Spanish fleet once more sailed for Rochelle, where they anchored before the castle to await its surrender. The principal military commander of the English, the Captal de Buch, was in the neighbourhood of Soubise, a strong fortress at the mouth of the river Charente, not many miles from Rochelle. With admirable promptitude, Owen placed 400 men in barges, which were rowed as far as Soubise. Here he surprised the English by a night attack; slaughtered or took prisoners the entire party, and captured their leaders, the Captal de Buch and Sir Thomas Percy.[1] An incident characteristic of mediæval

of Tatsfield. The version given by the writer of the *Chronique des Quatre Premiers Valois* is that Owen having failed to subdue the island of Guernsey, sailed away to Spain in search of the Spanish fleet. He makes the king of France's commission to Owen to be received whilst the latter was at Santander, and asserts that the Spanish ships of war were requested for a descent upon Wales, a proposal which led to almost a mutiny. His words are—"Yvain de Galles et Morelet de Montmor alerent au roy Henry et lui requistrent qu'il leur voulsist delivrer navire et l'armée comme il avoit promise au roy de France. Maiz les Espaingnolz distrent au roi Henry: 'Sire, envoiez nous en la terre desvoye, en Grenate, en Persie, oultre les destroiz de Marroc ou où il vous plaira fors en Galles. Car là ne yrons nous point par nulle maniere.' Ce fut dit à Yevan. Par quoy il se parti d'Espaingne moult yré, pour ce qu'il avail failli à son emprise." As a matter of fact, Owen did not fail in his mission.

[1] Sir Thomas Percy was taken prisoner by a Welshman, said to have been a priest and Owen's chaplain, whose name is given in some editions of *Froissart* as David House (ed. Luce, viii, 69), and in others as David Honnel (ed. Buchon, 649), the latter, of course, standing for Houuel=Howel. M. Luce (*loc. cit.*) has the following note to the passage:—"Thomas de Percy sénéchal de Poitou, fut pris en effet par un Gallois, mais ce Gallois ne portait pas le nom indiqué par Froissart; il s'appelait en réalité Honvel Flinc [Howel Flint]. Par acte daté du château du Louvre le 10 janvier 1373 (n. st.) Thomas de Percy, chevalier d'Angleterre, reconnut qu'il était 'prisonnier à Honvel Flinc, de Gales, lequel nous avoit pris en la bataille qui a esté ceste presente année où

methods of warfare is related by the writer of the *Chronique des Quatre Premiers Valois* in connection with this encounter. During the struggle an English knight or soldier shouted "Where hast thou got to, false traitor, Yvain de Galles, false renegade; the king of England and of France shall be avenged upon thee." To which Owen replied "I am here," and ran upon the Englishman, whom he felled to the earth with the blow of his battle-axe.[1] The castle of Soubise immediately surrendered, and the practical result of this daring action was the extinction of the English power in Saintogne. Rochelle fell soon afterwards, and Owen was ordered to conduct his prisoners to the king at Paris. The war continued, with an occasional English success to relieve the almost unbroken series of disasters, but the chroniclers do not record any

nous sommes (la pièce est datée de 1372 ancien style) devant la ville de Soubise, ou pais de Guienne en laquelle bataille fut aussi pris par les gens de très noble et très puissant prince Charles, par le grace de Dieu roy de France, monseigneur Jehan de Gresly, appellé le captal de Buch.' (*Arch. Nat.*, J. 362, No. 2.)" After the death of Owen in 1378, Howel Flint joined the corps of Ieuan Wyn, and signs a muster roll of the 1st May 1381, as the first man in the company. (Thierry, *Hist. de la Conquête de l'Angl.*; pièces justificatives, No. 5.)

[1] The entire passage is as follows:—"Les Françoiz se assemblerent de toutes pars et vindrent au logeiz de Yvain de Galles et se mistrent en conrroy. Et avoient jà les Angloiz desconfit aucuns Françoiz et chassé jusques au logeiz de Yvain. Et lors les Geneuois et les arbalestriers Françoiz pristrent fort à traire contre les Angloiz, et moult en occistrent et navrerent. Là oult moult dure bataille et pesant. Ung Angloiz prist a crier: 'Où es tu allé, faulx traistre Yvain de Galles, faulx regnié? Huy sera vengié le roy d'Angleterre et de France de toy.' Lors dit Yvain: 'Veez me ça!' et couru sus à l'Angloiz et le fery d'une hasche si fort qu'il l'abati à terre, et aucuns autres l'occistrent. Et adonc apleurent Françoiz de toutes pars" (p. 239, ed. Luce).—Though the story may owe something to the imagination of the chronicler, it is proof of the reputation that Owen had gained as a fighting man.

particular action of Owen, though we hear of his activity as a naval commander. The fear of foreign invasion was constantly present with the English council, repeated orders being issued for the defence of the maritime districts of England. Both countries were exhausted, and were glad to agree to a truce, which was several times renewed, and which it was hoped would terminate in a lasting peace. There can be little doubt that Owen's inveterate hatred of the English kept him active in the work of their destruction, and he would seem, from the *Life* of du Guesclin, already referred to, to have taken part in the struggle for Brittany under that great captain in the years 1374-5. His name is met with in the French muster rolls for the years 1373-4-5, in company with that of his fellow-countryman and kinsman, Ieuan Wyn. The twelve-months' truce agreed to on the 27th June 1375 was fairly kept, but the period of enforced idleness could not have been congenial to the restless spirit of Owen, and he seems to have turned to an altogether different quarter in search of the military adventure which had now become his passion.

Tschudi (1505-1572), the historian of Switzerland, when dealing with the irruption of Enguerrand de Coucy and a body of free companies into that country in the year 1375, quotes the following folk-poem which, without doubt, preserved to his day an episode that had keenly excited the popular imagination:—

"Der Herz Graf Ingram von Guisen
Wolt Statt und Burg nemmen inn
Er wondt das wär alles sin
Sin Schwächer von Engelland half Im
Mit Lib und Gut
Herzog Yffo von Calis mit
Sim guldinen Hut."

"The . . . . count Enguerrand de Coucy
Would city and fort take possession of,
He fancied the land was all his own,
His father-in-law of England helped him
With blood and treasure
Duke Iffo de Galis with
His golden Hat."

Now, there can be little doubt that in Yffo von Calis we should recognize Owen de Galles[1]; but, in any event, the Swiss enterprise was merely an episode. We find Owen back in France in the year 1376, and again in the service

[1] The Rev. Robert Owen (*The Kymry*, 94) identifies Iffo with an Ieuan ap Einion, but gets no further, whilst the late Mr. Charles Ashton (*Gweithiau Iolo Goch*, 149) makes Ieuan ap Einion to be of Bron-y-foel in Eifionydd, and the hero of an elegiac poem by Iolo Goch. The Rev. R. Owen's remarks are as follows: "Few, perhaps, are aware that the English Company of Enguerrand de Coucy, defeated by the Swiss on January 13, 1376, at Buttisholz, was commanded by Ieuan ab Einion; whom an old song of the period styles 'Hertzog Yffo von Callis mit sim guldinen hut,' the chief Evan of Wales with his golden hat. Enguerrand was a son-in-law of Edward III, and held fiefs in Wales, which explains his having a Welsh lieutenant"—but does not explain the real point requiring explanation, namely, why Iffo wore a golden hat. Prof. Dändliker, in his *Short History of Switzerland*, refers to this incident in the following terms:—"A long period of fear next followed, during which both parties [of Swiss] recruited their strength, and even joined hands in friendship, being unexpectedly united by the presence of a common foe. Baron Ingelram von Coucy, grandson of Leopold I of Austria, and son-in-law of Edward III of England, required the dukes of Austria to give up Aargau, which he claimed in his mother's right; and not obtaining it, he invaded Switzerland in 1375 with a numerous army of French and English mercenaries [Note: These troops received the nickname of "*Gugler*" on account of their headgear resembling a cowl (Swiss-German, 'Gugel')]. Terror and dismay were universal at the devastation wrought by these undisciplined troops. Wherever they went crops were destroyed, men and cattle butchered, and villages, churches, and monasteries set on fire. In this emergency Austria sought reconciliation with the Confederates, and renewed the Peace of Thorberg. She also concluded an offensive and defensive alliance with the towns, from which, however, the country districts

of Charles the Ninth, for Thierry has printed (*Hist. de la conquête de l'Angl. par les Normands :* pièces justificatives, No. 4) a list of his company dated at Limoges, the 8th of September. This list is highly interesting, but it has been produced in so corrupt a form that, pending the opportunity of visiting the national library at Paris, it is not reproduced here. The truce, which terminated on the 26th June 1376, saw both sides prepared to renew the conflict, but no important movement took place during that or the succeeding year. Of Owen we hear nothing until his arrival at Mortagne-sur-Garonne, where he met with an untimely end at the hands of his squire, John Lamb, as has already been related in the pathetic and picturesque narrative of Froissart. Death came to him when he was in the prime of life, and at the height of his

held aloof out of hatred to Austria. The Confederates advanced immediately against the "Guglers"; in Dec. 1375, a few troops from Lucerne, Entlebuch and Unterwalden repulsed one division of mercenaries at Buttisholz in the district of Sursee; troops from Berne and Fribourg attacked another division at Ins (or Jens), and the Bernese alone finally gained a brilliant victory over the main army near the monastery of Fraubrunnen. The rest of the invaders, partly owing to these defeats and partly to the want of provisions and the severity of the winter, were compelled to withdraw without attaining their object." (Miss E. Salisbury's Translation, p. 63.) The difficulty is to know whether the poetical reference to Yffo's golden hat is a satirical or far-away allusion to the 'gugel,' by which the mercenaries of Enguerrand de Coucy were distinguished; or whether Owen wore some headdress which he had adopted to set forth his pretensions; or whether, indeed, the words are intended to be no more than a poetical allusion to those pretensions which must have been well known throughout Southern France and its confines. It is difficult to imagine that Owen would have flaunted his claims so ostentatiously whilst in the train of the king of England's son-in-law, but de Coucy had important interests on both sides and fluctuated accordingly. He was earl of Bedford in the English peerage, and held fiefs in Wales only as, at this time, 1375, holding the wardship of the young earl of March.

resources. He must have been about the age of forty, and probably a few years below rather than a few years above that period.

Let us now take up the questions with which we started, and to which we are better prepared to reply.

(1) Is the Owain Lawgoch of Wales the same personage as the Yeuain de Galles of Froissart?

Notwithstanding that upon not a single occasion do we find Yeuain, or Owen, de Galles, distinguished by any form of cognomen which might stand for or be assumed to represent the Welsh "Llawgoch,"[1] it is submitted that the facts bearing upon this point, when taken together with those which have more direct reference to our second question—Who was Owen of Wales?—are sufficiently strong to warrant us in returning to our former query an unhesitating affirmative. There is, in the first place, the total absence of any other personage bearing the name of Owen whom the testimony of contemporary English records and French chronicles demonstrate to have been at a particular moment of time (the year 1370) an enemy of the king of England and—from the English point of view—a traitor to his country. Secondly, there is the immense weight of tradition. Not the tradition of centuries in the course of which names have been so altered and circumstances so reversed that it has become directly opposed to irrefutable record; but the tradition that, in an absolutely literal sense, embodies the story "our fathers have told us." In this connection, I would draw particular attention to the subsequent portion of this paper, which has been contributed by Mr. J. H. Davies. His researches into Welsh mediæval poetry prove how valuable those

[1] It is curious, however, that the Guernsey ballad, already given, should represent Owen as being wounded in the hand in the encounter on the island.

otherwise largely worthless effusions may be, as the only depositories of the thoughts of a community upon contemporary or nearly contemporary occurrences, and of names and incidents which are beneath or beside the notice of officialism. It is impossible to read the poem of Llewelyn ap Cynwrig ddu o Fôn without acknowledging that its testimony is ample as to the identity of Owain Lawgoch with Owen of Wales.

(2) Who was Owen of Wales?

With respect to this, our second question, we have more abundant evidence upon which to frame our reply. Up to the day when Owen unsuspectingly went out to his death we have been able to trace his career. His still unobliterated footprints on the sands of time are few and far between, but they have enabled us to construct a fairly consistent and consecutive story. The most sceptical critic cannot doubt that the Owen of Wales "filz à un prince de Galles" (*Froissart*), for whose murder John Lamb was rewarded, is the Owen Retherrik "qui se disoit prince de Galis", whose follower, Bleddyn ap Ynian, returned to his allegiance eighteen months after his leader's assassination. If so, then all else follows, as the night the day. The one defective link, that is, the identification of Owen ap Thomas ap Rhodri with Owen Lawgoch, though morally certain, is rendered absolutely so by the same old poem of Llewelyn ap Cynwrig ddu, to which we have already alluded; for the bard, in addressing the red-handed Owen, distinctly styles him the son of Thomas and grandson of Rhodri. It must also not be forgotten that the seal of Owen de Galles bears the same heraldic device as that of Thomas [ap] Rotheric, a fact the full force of which will be recognised by those who know that this is a far more reliable source of identification than the designation of an individual as written by a mediæval clerk.

The above was already in print when, during the process of cataloguing the manuscripts relating to Wales in the Harleian collection of the British Museum, the following hitherto unnoticed entry was alighted upon:—

(*British Museum: Harleian 2076*, old folio 98, modern 63*b*, note *g*).

"M'd' that S'r Thomas Rotherick, kn't, father to Owen Logate lord of Marebury, and of Althurst in Marebury parish pr'tended without title to haue beene Prince of Walles, and then was tooke and putt in Prison and there died, and Owen aforesaid went into Denmarke of purpose to haue wedded the king's daughter, and his owne chamb'-layne slew him, the said Owen, and came to the king of England and tould him the forecast of the said Owen, and then the king seized all his lands in Cheshire and beside London and all other places, and exiled the said Chamb'laine for y't hee was false to ye said Owen his m'r."

The volume containing this entry forms one of the immense collection of the family of Holme of Chester, which is for the most part devoted to pedigrees and genealogical and historical memoranda relating to the county of Cheshire in particular, and, more generally, to the adjacent parts of both England and Wales. Standing by itself, unsupported as it is by the quotation of a single authority, the entry would not carry us very far; but, carefully examined, it will be found to supply the one link that was wanting to our chain of evidence connecting Owen Lawgoch with Owen ap Thomas ap Rhodri. It is also clear that without the enquiries into the possessions and patrimony of Owen, which have cost so much labour and appeared to return somewhat inconclusive results, the full significance of this brief entry would never have become apparent. For who would have recognised Owen Lawgoch in "Owen Logate, lord of Marebury and of Althurst in Marebury parish"? The very mixture of fiction (in those details which the writer of the note drew from tradition or the reports of others) and of fact (in the circumstances which he was acquainted with from his own

knowledge or obtained from contemporary documents) gives the notice an importance for us that it would not have possessed had it been confined to facts alone. It should be observed, first of all, that the source and, perhaps, the form of the entry is earlier in date than the manuscript from which it has been extracted above. This is a series of notes upon Cheshire properties and their early proprietors, drawn, there can be little doubt, from the many sources that would be open to an accredited officer of the college of arms. If we could regard them as the production of one person, we might assume (from the name at their commencement) that their author was Sampson Erdeswick, a celebrated Cheshire herald of the sixteenth century, many of whose pedigree collections came into the possession of the Holme family. Be this as it may, it is obvious that the original writer, whoever he may have been, or in whatever form he recorded his information, was chiefly concerned with the devolution of the Cheshire manor of Althurst. A violent break occurred in the possession of this manor, as we know from the patent rolls of the 4th year of Richard II,[1] though no reference to that, or, indeed, to any other transaction relating to the manor, appears upon the official palatinate rolls. But the events which had permitted the intrusion of a new owner were vaguely known to the genealogist. The fact that a lord of Althurst

[1] "Grant, for life, to Roger atte Gate, king's esquire, of the manor of Althurst, co. Chester, in lieu of £10 yearly granted to him by letters patent of the king's father dated 20 February, 46 Edward III, from the same manor, forfeited by Owen Rotherik, as it appears by inquisition that the value of the manor is only £10 2*s*. yearly but he is to render the surplus of 2*s*. at the exchequer of Chester." (*Calendar Rot. Pat.*, 4 Ric. II, *p.* i, *m.* 17; 29 Sept. 1380.) This forms the only evidence I have been able to discover of the possession of this manor by Owen or his ancestors.

had been a traitor would linger long in the public memory, and the actual circumstances of his death in a foreign land, though generally known at the period of their occurrence, would become more and more obscured as the story passed from generation to generation. That the above entry has not been abstracted from Froissart, but is altogether independent of the chronicler's version, is manifest; whilst its striking agreement with Froissart's statement that Owen's father had suffered death at the hands of the English king, is calculated to make us ponder whether we have yet unravelled the fate of Thomas. Since we do not know the source of the above extract, it is useless to speculate upon the devious course by which "Lawgoch", or "Y llaw goch", became "Logate". Sufficient is it for us, that by reason of that happy amalgam of fact and of fiction to which we have adverted, we need feel no hesitation in accepting the entry as supplying the link hitherto required to unite Owen Lawgoch, Owen ap Thomas ap Rhodri, and Owen of Wales in one indissoluble entity.

As a corollary to the above questions arose the problem of the true value of Owen's claims; and in order to estimate these aright it became necessary to trace his ancestors, from whom he derived his pretensions to "the throne of Wales." This has been effected with thoroughly satisfactory results, and has been productive of what I trust will be acknowledged to be a substantial addition to the stock of our historical knowledge of the fortunes of certain members of the family of Llewelyn "ein llyw ola'." The relationship of Owen to the chiefly line of Gwynedd has been established, and a number of minor, but hardly less interesting points have been brought into prominence for solution by others, or await a more convenient season.

The oft-repeated truism that a chain is no stronger than

its weakest link, is, of course, as applicable to the moral as to the material sphere; and I am well aware that there are regrettable lacunæ in the train of reasoning I have presented. But there does not seem to me to be any insuperable obstacle or any impassable gap in any part of the route lying between the extreme points of the problem; and when remembrance is had of the distant period in which the persons who have been the subject of our enquiry lived and wrought—from six to seven centuries ago—it is remarkable that the breaks in the evidence should be so few and non-essential.

Having thus brought together into one personality Owain Lawgoch—Owen ap Thomas ap Rotherick—Owen of Wales, let us endeavour briefly to set forth what manner of man he was.

So slight are the materials at our command that any estimate we may form of Owen's character must be imperfect and, perhaps, erroneous. That he had great capacity for war is clear, as well from the admiration he commanded from his friends, as from the fear in which he was held by his enemies. His outburst against the earl of Pembroke at Santander would seem to point to the possession of a passionate nature, and in the heat of combat, as in the attack upon the English before Soubise, he appears to have been terrible. But the same enterprise proves his capacity for organization and intuitive knowledge how best to obtain the desired end, which are amongst the highest qualities of a military commander. The agreement of contemporary writers as to the universal feeling of regret with which his death was received denotes a bright, frank, and generous nature, at least towards those who were his friends; and the picture which old Froissart draws of him, glad of the converse of his squire because they spoke of Wales and of the great

doings there would be in that far off country when its prince should come into his own again, touches our hearts and engages our sympathy amid the common-place surroundings and sordid considerations of our own day.

This brings us to the point, How far were Owen's pretensions based upon actual fact, and how far did he believe in them himself? The capacity for self-delusion seems so inherent and inexhaustible in some minds that an answer to the latter half of the query is difficult. Froissart's account of the mental impression made upon Owen by Lamb's true and untrue tidings, "for he made him believe how all the country of Wales would gladly have him to be their lord," should not be accepted too readily; it is one thing to describe the actions of a man for which testimony is abundant—and yet Sir Walter Raleigh discovered how hard it was to state these with perfect fidelity; it is quite another thing to record the motives and portray the emotions of the closest of friends. The claims that Owen had openly put forward not only to the king of France, but to all who would lend him ear, would probably induce him to listen with confidence and self-complacency to the fictions of Lamb; and as he had started by asserting that he had been deprived of his rights, he would probably be only too willing to believe that there existed those who would perish with him in their maintenance.

Fictions assuredly they were which brightened the hope and clouded the judgment of Owen. If we endeavour to arrive at a verdict that is not biased by the sense of our common nationality or coloured by the kindly influences of natural sympathy, we can come to but one conclusion, namely, that there existed no good grounds for Owen's assertions that he had himself been cruelly and unjustly treated by the English king, or that his ancestors had been treacherously murdered and their country, the principality

of Wales, wrongfully seized by that king's predecessors. The ethics of kings and counsellors, particularly those of the middle ages, do not as a rule extort our admiration, and it would be folly to appraise them by the precepts—the less said about the practice the better—of this century. The small portion of Wales that in the year 1282 retained the shadow of a former independence lost even that reflection in a struggle that was probably inevitable. It is no source of gratulation to a Welshman, it never can be, that the slowly expiring light of Welsh national independence was for ever extinguished in 1282; but it is a subject of pride, whence springeth comfort, that its last prince died an honourable death. The impartial student of history must recognize that Owen's frame of mind, though a perfectly natural one from the point of view of sentiment, was not based upon sober reality, and it is with the latter alone that we, as historical students, are here concerned. Owen was himself the grandson of a man who had to flee from Wales into England for liberty and probably life. We have followed the devious course of his father and grandfather, so far as records that are inexpugnable in their veracity will permit, and the conclusion to which we are forced is that not a shade of reason existed for Owen's unhappy delusion, apart from the distorted fancies that brooding over a lost cause is only too prone to engender.[1]

[1] It was the apparent impossibility of accounting in a rational and convincing manner for the occasion of Owen's bitter hostility to England, and for his assertion that his ancestors (Froissart says his father, which is calculated to put an enquirer upon a wrong scent) had been done to death by the English king and certain of his nobles, that led the writer in his lecture to reject Owen's kinship with the princely house of Gwynedd, and to assert his connection with Llewelyn Bren, who was unquestionably of the royal line of Morganwg. I have elsewhere (*Western Mail*, 2 May 1898), I think conclusively, shown that Llewelyn Bren's name was Llewelyn ap Griffith, the same as that of the last prince of Gwynedd, with whose

Still more difficult is it to comprehend the ground of his assertion that he himself was the subject of injustice on the part of the English king. Whatever may have been his career abroad during his father's lifetime, he had but to return to his native land—for I have little doubt that he was born at Tatsfield—to obtain the restoration of all his father's patrimony, and upon the date at which his adhesion to the enemies of England was clearly proved he is found to have been in possession of every acre that his father had held at his death.

That his own death was accomplished by one of the blackest acts of treachery ever perpetrated, and that

latter years he must have been contemporary. Now, the Morganwg Ll. ap Griffith, after an abortive rising in the year 1316, was captured by a body of troops which had been assembled under the earl of Hereford and lord Despencer—the ancestors of the very noblemen named by Owen of Wales in his tirade against the earl of Pembroke at Santander ("and also the earl of Hereford and Edward [de]Spencer, for by your fathers, with other counsellors, my lords my ancestors (*messires mes pères*) were betrayed")—imprisoned in the Tower, released and again captured by Despencer, and hanged by him at Cardiff Castle. Ll. Bren is not stated to have had a son named Owen, but he had one named Roger, which might (but not probably) be the Anglicised form of Rhodri. Had Owen really been a descendant of this family, his animosity against the ruling powers of England, and, especially, against the descendants of the de Bohuns and the de Spencers, would have been explicable. But I have abandoned this view, and have now, I trust, satisfactorily proved, in agreement with my friend Mr. J. H. Davies's consistently expressed opinion, that Owen de Galles was of the princely line of Gwynedd. If Owen knew anything of events in Wales, either from his father or from others (for he was not born when Ll. Bren was hanged), he must have heard of that shocking contempt of justice on the part of the younger Despencer, and it seems possible that he may have assumed the undoubted wrongs of another family to bolster up the fictitious injuries under which he believed he himself laboured. The rising of Llewelyn Bren has been neglected by our writers of history, and as its elucidation, when attempted, will involve considerable research into unpublished records, its present unsatisfactory condition will probably long continue.

this act was directly instigated, as it was welcomed and rewarded, by the English authorities, is morally if not absolutely certain. Greatly as it advantaged his enemies, there were no doubt many in the English ranks who, like the brave Soudic of Lestrade, exclaimed when the details of the assassination became known "We shall have rather blame thereby than praise." But Owen has had his revenge. Whether during his life he had absorbed the history and assumed the character of another it is difficult for the historian to determine. It is otherwise with the student of popular traditions. Professor Rhys has shown that the failures of this world may find redress in the realm of romance. By his meteoric career and his pathetic end Owen established a sway over the imaginations of his countrymen which has proved more enduring than any material kingdom which he could hope to have won. He has displaced even the glorious Arthur from some of the latter hero's most charming retreats in the domain of popular fancy, and so long as Welsh romantic literature has its exponent or its votary so long will the name of Owen ap Thomas ap Rhodri smell sweet and blossom in the dust.

(The following section is contributed by Mr. J. H. Davies, M.A.)

The story of Owen ap Thomas ap Rhodri, as narrated by the graphic pen of Froissart and as recorded in the contemporary documents of the English Courts, has been told; nothing now remains but to string together in some kind of order the few confirmatory facts gleaned from Welsh sources. Unfortunately, no Welsh records of the period survive in prose, if any ever existed. We have therefore

to turn to the evidence supplied by Welsh poetry. But before dealing directly with the references to Owen found in the poetry of the period, it may be well to supplement the few data we produce by giving a description of the class of poetry in which this evidence is found.

From the earliest times it may be presumed that the Welsh people were fond of speculating as to the future, and the professional prophets or seers amongst them were treated with awe and respect. We accordingly find that Taliesin and Myrddin, in the poems attributed to them, made forecasts of the future, and quite a considerable proportion of the poetry in our oldest existing MSS. is concerned with such prophecies. Mr. Stephens, in his *Literature of the Kymry*, has proved that some, at any rate, of the prophecies attributed to Myrddin were concoctions of a later age. For our purpose, however, that is of little consequence, as we only intend to note the prophecies grouped around the name of Owen written or composed before the year 1350. By this means we hope to eliminate from the poetry which contains references to Owen ap Thomas all the legends which may be referred to an earlier person of the same name. The prophecies relating to Wales, as distinct from those common to other countries, group themselves into periods. It will be convenient to tabulate them in the following way:—

I. Prophecies attributed to Taliesin and Myrddin.
II. Prophecies said to be written about the end of the 13th century.
III. Owen ap Thomas prophecies.
IV. Prophecies relating to Owen Glyndwr.
V. Prophecies written between 1415 and 1485, the period during which penal laws were put into force against Welshmen.
VI. Prophecies of the 17th century.

Far and away the most prolific period is that between 1415 and 1485. The poetry of this period breathes a spirit of hatred towards the Saxon, which cannot be matched in that of any other period.

In the present state of our knowledge of the early literature of Wales, it is very difficult to make any statement concerning, or express any opinion upon, the prophecies of Taliesin and Myrddin.

We have, however, the fact that the *Black Book of Carmarthen*, written in the 12th and early 13th centuries, the *Llyfr Taliesin*, written about 1275, Peniarth MS. 3, and the *Red Book of Hergest*, part of which was written early in the 14th cent., contain a number of prophecies attributed to these two bards.

In the *Black Book*, on fol. 25 there is a verse which is thus translated in Skene's *Four Ancient Books of Wales*, p. 371:—

"Sweet apple tree, and a yellow tree,
Grow at Tal ardd, without a garden surrounding it;
And I will predict a battle in Prydyn,
In defence of their frontier against the men of Dublin;
Seven ships will come over the wide lake,
And seven hundred over the sea to conquer.
Of those that come, none will go to Cennyn,
Except seven half-empty ones, according to the prediction."

Here we have the earliest mention in Welsh poetry of the legend that seven ships and seven hundred men were to come over from Dublin.[1] In the *Red Book of Hergest*, col. 577 *et seq.*, we find the following dialogue between Myrddin and his sister[2]:—

73. "When Lloegyr will be groaning,
And Cymir full of malignity,
An army will be moving to and fro.

[1] See also *Black Book*, fol. 28; *Skene*, vol. ii, 23.

[2] For the text see *Skene*, vol. ii, 227, and translation vol. i, 470.

74. "Myrddin fair, gifted in speech,
Tell me no falsehood;
What will be after the army?

75. "There will arise one out of the six
That have long been in concealment;
Over Lloegyr he will have the mastery.

76. "Myrddin fair, of fame-conferring stock,
Let the wind turn inside the house,
Who will rule after that?

77. "It is established that Owein should come,
And conquer as far as London,
To give the Cymry glad tidings.

78. "Myrddin fair, most gifted and most famed,
For thy word I will believe,
Owein, how long will he continue?

79. "Gwenddydd, listen to a rumour,
Let the wind turn in the valley,
Five years and two, as in time of yore.

80. "I will ask my profound brother,
Whom I have seen tenderly nourished,
Who will thence be sovereign?

81. "When Owein will be in Manaw,
And a battle in Prydyn close by,
There will be a man with men under him."

The portion of the *Red Book* containing this poem is supposed to have been written after 1318. Here we have a traditional Owen, who has long been in hiding, coming forth to conquer the Saxon. He is again mentioned in the *Red Book*, col. 1051, a poem translated in *Skene*, p. 491.

"And Owein will be the ruler of the kingdom,
A ruddy man in the ruddy scene, the joy of Gwynedd,
Of brave ancestors, the progeny of Mervyn, the bulwark of sovereignty.
A crowned young hero, on the point of effecting deliverance."[1]

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[1] Written in the *Red Book* about 1376, but probably composed at a much earlier period.

In the second period we class such poets as Adda Vras and Y Bardd Cwsg.

These bards also refer to an Owen whose advent was expected, but as we have not seen any MSS. of their works earlier than 1350, it is not possible to ascertain whether these references occur in the original poems or not. As far, however, as they repeat the stories already found in the works of the earlier bards, they are presumably genuine compositions.

There can be no doubt, as we shall show later on, that these prophecies, with their references to an Owen who was to be the deliverer of his nation, exercised a potent influence on the Welsh, and prepared the way for the gallant enterprises of Welshmen like Owen Glyndwr and Henry VII, the grandson of Owen Tudor.

To illustrate this we shall quote a few passages attributed to these poets in Welsh MSS. The extracts are taken for the most part from a MS. written by Lewis Morris in 1726, copied from an older MS. of which Lewis Morris gives this description: "It is of a fair character, with a Saxon or old British Letter at ye beginning of each Cowydd; and by its orthography I guess it might be written about ye time of Henry ye Eight. It hath been sometimes In ye hands of the famous Mr. William Jones, Mathemat. of Llanbabo (formerly Secretary to the Lord Chancellour of England), for I find his name of his own handwriting therein, and [also] some annotations in the margin written ye year 1597."

"Mi a stynaf yr haf yn oleuaf i le
Ag yn deccach nog i bu haf o'r Hafe
Mi anfona rad i bob gwlad rhag eisie
Mi a ollynga ofyn i'r Dyffryn mawr i ddryge
Mi a dynna y Ddraig wen o uwch ben 'r holl ddreigie
Mi a dystia 'n gyntaf yr haf hirfelyn
A phob dyffryn yn llawn or grawn dinewyn

A gorescyn llydan gan hudol llwydwyn
Llydaw, ar naid ai blaid o'r Gorllewyn
Llew goruchel rhyfel yn gorescyn
A gobeitho rhagllaw y daw llawenydd
A phob deynudd yn ymgweiriaw
Gwyr a meirch marchogion Llydaw
Llychlyn ar gychwyn a dyfyn i Fanaw
Saith gan llywydd llynges ar des yn hwyliaw
Ag ir wen ynus, ynus Lydaw
Llwydion farchogion y Mon yn tiriaw
Ag OWAIN ai wyr i bob tir a ddaw."

Y Bardd Cwsg.

Owing to the modern orthography, one would be inclined to attribute this poem to a later date than 1300, were it not that the references to the seven hundred ships coming over the sea are found in the *Black Book of Carmarthen*, p. 25, as stated before. Though the spelling has been modernized, there is no reason to doubt that the poem itself may be the genuine work of Y Bardd Cwsg.

Here is another poem by the same author:

"Daw byd anhyfryd i Saesson
Rhag maint i gallu ni allant fyddon[1]
Er hyd fo'r coed cadarn nis cuddion
Na dim ni bydd wrth i boddion
Cyfud o gudd gwr a wna budd oi obeithion
Ag OWAIN fydd i henw honaid gyfrangon
Llew glew a glywir i adchwelon
Llyngesau 'n ddiau a ddaw i Aberon
Aberoedd a fu ufuddion
A Chymru yn hy ynghaerfrangon
Caffant wledd gylanedd oi gelynion
OWAIN a fu, OWAIN a fydd, OWAIN a fydd etto'n
Ag OWAIN a rydd gwared am i tir i Frython.[2]"

These prophecies, together with the others quoted from earlier sources, are sufficient evidence of the fact that the Welsh people were looking forward to the coming of an

[1] fudion. [2] See also *Cat. Hist. MSS.*, Mostyn MSS., p. 104.

Owen from over the seas who would re-conquer the lands they had lost. Originally they may have referred to Owen ab Edwin or Owen of Manaw, as Stephens suggests,[1] but as time went on they were made applicable to Owen ap Thomas, Owen Glyndwr, and even Henry VII, the grandson of Owen Tudur. So great was the influence of these vaticinatory poems that it is said Welshmen sold their goods and belongings in order to buy horses and armour in readiness for the new leader they were expecting. As recently as the 16th century the people of Anglesea, influenced by the dark sayings of the Welsh seers, did not trouble to plough and sow, expecting the end of the world, as the following extract shows:—

"Sion Brwynog, neu Sion ap Hywel ap Llywelyn ab Ithel oedd fardd o Fon, a flodeuodd rhwng 1520 a 1560. Yn ei amser ef yr oedd y werin yn myfyrio mwy ar y Brudiau nag ar lyfrau buddiol, a thrigolion Mon y pryd hyny yn peidio aredig na hau, gan ddisgwyl diwedd y byd "Hau i bwy"? meddent. Am hyny canodd Sion Brwynog yr Englyn canlynol.

"Arddwn, gweddiwn bob ddau—yn gefnog
Nog ofnwn y Brudiau;
Tirion hedd, tariwn i hau
Tra fo un o'r terfynau." *Gutyn Peris*, 1836.

But the most interesting proof of the all-absorbing interest taken by the Welsh in these prophecies is found in a poem by Meredydd ab Rhys, who lived about the middle of the 15th century, which we give here at length.

The bard had neglected his farm, and sold his cattle, buying instead horses and armour "like a soldier". For nine years he had watched the sea, expecting the hosts of the deliverer, only to be disappointed. At last he had to sell his horses and armour, and even his shirt, to make peace with the king. All this causes him to curse the

[1] *The Literature of the Kymry*, 1849, p. 216.

book of prophecies which had misled him. The book is then supposed to address him and to remonstrate with him on his incredulity, but he persists in his disbelief to the end.

"Y brad llwyd kymysc brud a llaid[1]
Brud hen llyfr y Brytaniaid
brwydyr ar dir kamber ydwyd
brychliw dwrch brycheulud wyd
brath groen hyfr brith grwn hyfedr
byrkutan tal llydan lledr
beth a dal ym dy obeithiaw
yn boeth y bych hen beth baw.
Eddilwch ym dy ddilid
I ddiawl gwent i ddel gid
y neb ai yscifen au
a lenwis dy ddolenau
am roi ynvyt gerdd Ferddin
yn llowdwr krwth o henlledr krin
a tarw moel llyna goel gwan
in twyllo on tai allan.
Ffol yw dy siarad brad brec
ffol o eiriau ffilorec
a ddaw ir bobol a wyddym
fyd ta a heb ddowod tym?
kred fi na rown welldyn krin
er myrdd o eiriau Merddin.
Mae ynod bragod bregeth
gyfrinach gwion bach beth
y gwr a ddyfod geiriau
gwir gynt heb draythu gair gau
bellach ni chair gair ogan
digelwydd rwng dau galan
sores am bob gair saruc
oth ben lyfr fferen ffuc
ni chawn er a wnawn o nod
oer gwynyn air gwir ynod
hwyr ddadyl herwydd a ddoydy
hen bortias Adda fras fry.

[1] *Addit. MSS.* 31057, p. 39.

Bod yn anhwsmon bydol
ar dasc a weythym ar dol
gwerthu r gwarthec mowrdec mau
a ffrynu meirch a ffrwynau
prynais fal milwr gwr gwrdd
rif amyl or arfau ymwrdd
gwilio i bum ar gil heb wedd
am y lan es naw mylynedd
ar feder wrth ymarfodi
symyd fyd i somed fi
gorfod gwerthu r graic arfau
ar meirch rygorol or mau
a gwerthu r bais rac trais trin
i brynu heddwch brenin.
A brydais yt y bryd serth
a brydaf yt yn brydferth
ffailiedic lyfr ffol ydwyd
ffeiliest ar iawn ffalster wyd
ffugiol o hen henol brych
ffugiol fyth poed ffagal fyddych.
Taw dy fardd nid ta dy foes
tirion rroed Mair yt hir oes
Och fi grist pann na chaf gred
am i ham lyfr myhumed
och wr drwc wyd o chware
chwerw a ffrom na chair ffrae
Drwc yw fal dirawio gwr
Dy ddyll nid wyd ddeyallwr
Deyall hyn Duw ai llynia
i daw y byd hyfryd ta
edrych a welych o waith
a wnel Duw erbyn eilwaith
Gad ym f arglwydd gydymaith
attcb ith wyneb oth iaith
Maer drin wedi eginaw
yn gwyr drud yn Lloyger draw
pan fo aeddfed yw fedi
yn amser yr R ar i
y mae gyfyrbyn a Mon
ar i oddef arwyddion
ynnynu tan ymanaw
a fydd ruw ddydd a ddaw
i ddiawl pe lloscai Ddulyn
oedd ddim mwy ol i ddyn

taw, taw a ddaw eiddil
hwt, hwt, dos yscwt yscil
temel gau twyll odlau lledlyth
iti ni choiliaf fi fyth."

Meredydd ap Rys ai kant.

We now come to the prophecies in which reference is made to Owen ap Thomas. The first poem was written by Iolo Goch and was printed by Mr. Ashton in his edition, p. 239. The text in his book is, however, so corrupt that we append another version taken from a MS. written about the middle of the 16th century. Mr. Ashton takes for granted that the Owen referred to in the poem is Owen Glyndwr, but we think this assumption is incorrect.

In the third and fourth lines the author gives the name of the person whose praises he sings as Y and N and I and W, which form YWIN or YWAIN. In line 7 Ywin is called a sailor, a description by no means inapplicable to Owen ap Thomas or Ywain des Galles, but hardly applicable to Owen Glyndwr. In lines 21 and 22 the bard refers to the killing of two of Owen's uncles. Now, we do not think there is any record of the killing of two of Owen Glyndwr's uncles by the English, but the two brothers of Owen ap Thomas's grandfather Rhodri, *i.e.*, the two last princes of Wales, Llewelyn and David ap Gruffydd, received their death blows at the hands of the English, so that the reference would be quite correct in his case. In lines 27, 28, and 29 there are references to Owen's coming from over the sea, another fact inconsistent with the history of Owen Glyndwr. On the whole, therefore, we are inclined to think that this poem, since it undoubtedly refers to some historic personage contemporary with Iolo Goch, must refer to Owen ap Thomas ap Rhodri.

The latter part of the poem is simply a repetition of the older poems mentioned above, but we know of no reference in these older poems to the slaughter of two uncles of the traditional Owen, and this fact alone seems to us to be *primâ facie* proof that our hero is referred to here.

"Rodded tuw ras kwmpas koeth[1]
Gair hwylddawn ir gwr haelddoeth
Y ac N ywr kymhenddoeth
I ac V ddwbl ywr kwbl koeth
Mae yni fryd wryd aer
Ruthro engyl rrethri anglaer
Morgenau nid amheuir
ymorol flaidd hoiw radd hir
Blwyddyn yw hon gron gryno
Ir ddraic wen roi iffen ar ffo
Ar ddraic koch lwybr wrth groch lid
Ai hamlwc ffagl ai hymlid
Llithred eira llethrid araul
Gan ddeheuwynt ne hynt haul
Pan ddel ior kynyddfor kain
Gwr o lendid i gaer Lundain
Ang hyfion y kyssonir
O Rufain damwain i dir
Efo a ddial ddeudal ddic
Bore rwng Dofr a Berwic
Na bu iawn ddygyn greulawn wedd
Weithred ladd i hewythredd
Fflamblaid Loegr bobl goegras
Yn fflam dan a mwc glan glas
Dan ddyrnodiau blifiau blwng
Glod astud ai glud ostwng
Ni wybyddir o hir hynt
Ar for gwyrdd las gwynias gwynt
Oni ddel tarw ryfel taer
Ymysc engil ymwasc anglaer
Trwy Gymry lle treir llew trin
Yno i bydd yn naw byddin
Myrdd ar for gwyrdd a fwrw gwynt
Lwgwr ddeffro i Loegr ddyfrynt

[1] *Addit. MSS.* 31057, f. 102*b*.

A chanto bwiall eillmin
Llychlyn llwybr tremic trin
I Fyniw dir ne Fon y daw
Leder ar bobyl o Lydaw
A chantaw er blinawr blaid
Llynges o naw kan llongaid
Llong a ddaw gar llaw ffawydd
Llongesawc o fachawc fydd
A llong fraith a lleng frython
A llynges gar mynwes Mon."

Iolo Goch ai kant.

But if there is any doubt about this poem, there can be none about the one that follows, which is a remarkable instance of the light thrown on current events by Welsh Poetry.[1] The poem is variously attributed to Llywelyn ap Cynfrig ddu o Fon, Llywelyn Meurig ddu, Llywelyn ap Owain, and others. There are copies of it in the following MSS.: British Museum *Additional* 14887, f. 47 (17th cent.), 14994, f. 58*b* (O. Myfyr), 31057, f. 44 (16th cent.) and f. 115*b*, and in the *Lewis Morris MS.* before referred to. All these MSS. differ in minor details, which we shall refer to when necessary. The bard begins by referring to the Brudiau, or prophecies, of Myrddin Amhorfryn, Myrddin Emrys and Taliesin. In line 32 there is a mention of Owen Lawgoch, but we have quite failed to gather its meaning or make out its connection with the three preceding lines. The MSS. differ slightly in their readings.

Addit. 31057, f. 44, has

"Tridydd ormes Taliessin[2]
trethu a wnai truth oi fin

[1] In Pen. MS. 94, p. 180, it is called "Marwnad Ywein Tudyr," but this is clearly wrong.

[2] The three "Armes Taliesin" will be found in the *Myf. Arch.* (Gee's ed.), pp. 45, 72, 119.

Ni day oi ben grechwen groch
Awen lwgwr Owain lowiwgoch."

The Lewis Morris MS. has

"Trydydd ornes Taliesin
traethai oi fodd truth oi fin
Nid ae oi ben grechwen groch
Awen lewgur Owen Lowgoch."

The poet then refers to the prophecies of Adda Fras and Y Bergam, who had taught the people to be on the watch for the coming conqueror. Consequently they had watched the shores and had bought horses and arms in readiness for the fray,[1] only, however, to be disappointed.

"The grandson of Rhodri came not, and great was our grief, alas that he came not, may the devil who murdered him be himself killed."

This reference in line 46 to the murder of Owen by an assassin shows how the news was received in Wales. All the MSS., however, do not agree as to the reading.

Addit. 31057, f. 44, has

"Lleddid y diawl ai llwyddawd."

Add. 14887, f. 47, has

"Lleddid y dewl ai lladdawdd."

The line is omitted in the *Lewis Morris MS.*

The bard then proceeds to lament his loss and calls him "the son from Aberffraw in Anglesea," Aberffraw being the seat of the Gwynedd princes. But he continues, "Though the noble Owen of Gwynedd, the son of Thomas, be slain, there is another Owen who is his heir, and all the signs which the bards said were to herald the coming of the deliverer have not yet been seen; Owen is still abiding his time, but when he really comes, we shall have war throughout Wales."

[1] Cf. the poem of Meredydd ab Rhys, above.

We suggest that this is the drift of the poem, but confess that some of the lines are difficult of interpretation. The reference to another Owen may, of course, be to Owen Glyndwr, but it may also refer to the Owen who, according to the old tradition, is still sleeping with his men in a great cavern, from which he will some day emerge to win back the lands of his forefathers.[1]

[Cywydd i Owen ap Thomas ap Rhodri.][2]

"Kyfriw ardal kowirdeb
Kof helaeth ni wnaeth neb
Kablur brud kwbwl aur Brydain
Kof y byd kyfrwyddyd kain
Dilis gore chwedyl yn oedd
Am a fu ac am a fydd
Am bob chwedyl ir genedl gain
Ywr brud i wr o Brydain
Eraill fal dyna arwydd
Ysydd gelwyddoc i swydd
Merddin wyllt hagr orwyllt haint
Amhorfryn amau hwyr fraint
Kerdd wemal am ofalu
Gynt o goed a gant yn gau

---

[1] The following lines out of a poem attributed to Llywelyn ap Owain ap Cynwrig refer to the same event:—

"Rai a fydd yn ryfeddu
Hir orwedd mewn bedd i bu
Goir mewn pridd yn gyhyd
I gorff yn gyfan i gyd
Yn gyhyd diwyd awen
Kan mlynedd rrinwedd ren
Y Gwr ai duc or gweryd
or bedd yw ddangos ir byd
Na cheisient wiwrent wared
Ni chan na heddwch na ched
Oni fo ymwthio maith
Aer feinios ar o vain aith."

Ll. ap Owain ap Kynwric.
Addit. 31057, f. 66, and at f. 96.

[2] *Addit. MSS.*, 31057 p. 115*b*.

Yw borchell ddiysbell gas
Ai fedwen fal ynfydwas
Merddin Emrys am treisiawdd
Ai fawl pell hawl nid pwyll hawdd
Ai son wrth frenhinawl sud
Gwrtheyrn yn gwrthaud
Hwn a beris hen burawr
Lladd y dewinion ir llawr
A gillwng nid o galledd
Y ddraic wen ddirowioc wedd
Oi chwsk yn ol iach esgud
I wlad Rufain os hyn osud
Ynfyd koel or anfad kudd
Ai law lle roysan ludd [1]
Trydedd ormes Taliesin
Traethu a wnai truth oi fin
Nid ai oi ben grechwen groch
Awen lwgwr Owain Lowgoch
Eryr Kaer Septon[2] arab
Ai gwrs ar ol gwersi yr ab
Adda Fras goweithas gain
Byrgwd ffals y bergain
A ddysgodd ini ddisgwyl
Beunydd bwy gilidd bob gwyl
Gwiliaw traethau yn ieufank
Gorllanw ffrwyth gorllwyn[3] Ffrainc
Prynu meirch glud hybarch glod
Ac arfau ar fedr gorfod
Yn ol oiri[4] yr aeth ini
Er edrych am WYR RODRI
Llyna och ym lle ni chawdd
LLEDDID A DIAWL AI LLADDAWDD
Ni chan groiw ruw loiw lef
Uwch fym hen o nen yn nef.
O druan o bleith yr anwyd[5]
O ddyn ai ynfydu iddwyd
Kyd ddarlleud hud hoiw dryw
Y gerdd oll ac arwydd yw

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[1] See *Red Book*, vol. i, p. 98.
[2] See *Myf. Arch.* (Gee's Ed.), p. 561.
[3] *al.* gorllewin.
[4] *al.* oer ir aeth.
[5] *al.* o ble ir hanwyt.

Mae modd ni wyddud myn Mair
Dull iowngof deall ungair
Na graddau nac arwyddion
Y Mab or Berffro ym Mon
Ni ddoeth diben ych penyd
Ni ddaw byth oni ddel byd
O llas Owain gain gwynedd
Fab Tomas ffureiddwas y ffydd
Mae gan Grist gyfiawn wisgall
Awen aer Owain arall
Ni ladd dur ruw natur rus
Nowtawdd pryd ystin atus[1]
Ni chanwyd kyrn ni chenynt
Kynwr ymhorth Kyllwr gynt
Ni ddoeth nid wyd toeth hyd hyn
Diliw dros gaerau Dvlvyn
Nid mawr angerdd y Werddon
Ni bu lud ymud ym Mon
Ni ddialodd gwahodd gwych
Gwm minod gamau mynych
Ni chan bugeilydd yn chwec
Koel chwerw kil y chwarec
Ni sengis fflowr ddelis fflwch
Brenin Aber bryn ebwch
Ni syrthiodd y seren bengrech
Ir llawr mae Owain yn llech
Pan ddel o drais i geisiaw
Owain o dre Rufain draw
Aur dalaith ar daith i daid
O randir i orhendaid
Di argel fydd ryfel rrwy
O Lyn Kain i Lan Konwy."

Llywelyn ap Kynfric Ddu o Fon ai kant.

In *Mostyn MS.* 133, p. 174*b*, there are the following lines :—

"Pan vo rrvdd rredyn
pan vo koch kelyn
y daw gwyr Llychlyn
} ai bwiall awchliw.

[1] *al.* predestinatus.

Gidag Owain Lowgoch
Ai baladr rryddgoch
i gyro Sayson val moch
} Ynghors Vochno."[1]

In the same *Mostyn MS.*, p. 379, is the following enigmatic saying:—

"A lion shalbe generat out of the bere by the full strength an nature of a dunn cow, &c. Owain Lawgoch."[2]

We find references to Owain Lowgoch in the works of the later poets also. It is not always clear whether they refer to him as a historical or legendary personage, but it is certain that some of the poets who lived a century after his day speak of him in the former character. Tudur Aled, who wrote in the last quarter of the fifteenth century, mentions him in one of his poems, and so do Lewis Glyn Cothi and Lewis Mon. The two extracts which follow are taken from poems by Tudur Aled:—

"Sant ar y vaink Sion tra vych[3]
rruw vylaidd mewn rryfel oeddych
Mwy bw y kad y mab koch
gan Loegr noc Owain Lowgoch
ewch i'r maes gida cheirw Mon
Aros drin ar estronion."

This poem is addressed to John Puleston, who flourished about 1500. The poet speaks of his fierceness in the battle-

[1] One of the great battles was to be fought by Owen at Cors Vochno (near Borth, North Cardiganshire). The battles are thus mentioned in *Addit. MS.* 31057:

"Llyma y prif gadau:
Kad Nan Konwy a Chad Withon
Kad Kors Fochno a chad y Mon
Kad Kwannud a chad Kaerleon
Kad Abergwaith a chad Withon
Ac felly y terfyna."

[2] See *Cat. Hist. MSS.*, vol. i, pp. 106, 110. [3] Pen. MS., 110, p. 37.

field, and says that his enemies feared him more than the English people feared Owen Lawgoch.

"Aeth hwnt air ith anturwyr[1]
Od a dail ydiw dy wyr
Llai genym y lle i ganu
Lle doeth Llyr Lledaith a llu
Llowgoch wyt llaw a gwayw chwyrn
Llwyth Owen llew a theyrn
dy wayw yn ddellt neu'n dan a ddaw
dy gynyw chwyrn da gwnewch arnaw."

In these lines, also addressed to Puleston, the poet compares his hero to Llawgoch, and then says that he is of the lineage of Owen, lion and sovereign. Whether this Owen is Owen Lawgoch or Owen Glyndwr is not clear, but the Pulestons were descended from a sister of Glyndwr.

Lewis Mon, in a poem to Owain Meurig of Anglesea, begins by saying:—

"Awn i Loeger Owain Lowgoch[2]
Amheirig caingc or mor coch
I waith ryfel ith rifent
I dynnu rrwyd hyd yn rrent."

Lewis Glyn Cothi, in addressing Owain ab Gruffydd ab Nicholas, says:—

"Ni weled o'r maen bedydd[3]
Henw sy well n'or hwn sydd;
Henwau a roed hen ar wyr,
A hyn mal henwau milwyr;
Ban y rhoed bob un o'r rhain,
O dy Dduw ydoedd Owain.
Cri Owain Rhodri lle'r oedd
Aeth ei ofn i eithavoedd;
Owain y Glyn hen a'i gledd;
Owain Nic'las ai nawcledd;
Owain Gwynedd, llin Gynan" &c.

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[1] Pen. MSS., 110, f. 44-5. [2] *Addit.* 14978, f. 162*b*.
[3] *Lewis Glyn Cothi's Works*, p. 139.

The bard praises the name of Owen, and proceeds to enumerate the celebrated persons who had borne the name, saying that the fear of Owain Rhodri reached the furthest limits of the world. Owain Rhodri is here, we are of opinion, no other than Owen Lawgoch in another guise.

The "tribanwyr" of Glamorganshire in a later age reproduced the stock prophecies in verse, but to them Owen Lawgoch was merely a name, and it is probable that his connection with Owen ap Thomas had been completely forgotten. The herald-bards *(arwydd-feirdd)* of North Wales it is true, as has been already shown in the earlier part of this paper, did know that he was the same person, but even their information goes no further than a bald statement of the fact.

Thomas ab Ieuan ab Rhys, the Twm Gelwydd teg of the *Iolo MSS.* (pp. 200-3), who is said to have reached the patriarchal age of 130 in 1604, wrote a long prophecy (*cwndid*), in the course of which the following verse appears:—

"Fe ddaw Owain dros y dwr
a dau gynghorwr ganddo
a'r fran ddu o blith y sêr
ag fe ddaw peder atto."

"Owain with his two councillors will come from over the water, and the black crow from the stars, and four others will come to him" (*sic*).

Another song, written in 1668, has the following verses:—

"Ceir clywed cloch hen Arthur yn cauu'n fawr ei rhwysg,
I maes o dref Caerlleon yn ymyl Dyffryn Wysg,
Yn seinio dan arwyddion yn erbyn Owen draw,
Medd llyfr y d'roganau sy'n warrant yn fy llaw.

"Ceir gweled Owen law-goch yn d'od i Frydain fawr,
Ceir gweled newyn ceiniog yn nhref Caerlleon-gawr,
Ceir gweled Towi'n waedlyd, a chlwyf ar Edmwnd Goch,
Waeth bod yn Aber-Milffwrd o blaed i'r Saeson moch."

This song was published at Carmarthen in the 18th century and has been reprinted several times, the last occasion within the last two or three years. In the later editions, another song has been added to it called "Dechreu Darogan Myrddin", but we have not seen any edition of this previous to the one printed at Carmarthen by M. Jones. This song also contains references to Owen :—

"Dan llywodraeth Brenin Owen,
Hwn wladeidda ynys Brydain ;
Wrth Ffynon-enlliw rhoddant battel,
Nes cwympo llawer o'r ddwy genel.
* * * *
"A'r Llithynwyr ânt yn amlwg
Hyd y lle a elwir Colbrwg,
I gwedd a gwyr y cywyr Owen :
Hwn wladeiddia ynys Brydain.
* * * *
"Yna cerddant hwy ac Owain,
A chwmni ar frys i ddinas Llundain ;
A gosodant hwn yn enwog,
Yn wyr frenin gwych calonog.
* * * *
"Yr Owen hwn yw Harri'r nawfed,
Sydd yn trigo yn ngwlad estroniaid ;
Pe bai 'r bleiddiaid wedi ei fwyta,
Fe ddaw hwn i wlad Brydania."

It is clear that in these later songs the Owen of the *Black Book* prophecies has become confused with Owen Lawgoch and perhaps Owen Glyndwr. The fact remains, however, that the name of Owen Lawgoch is still preserved in a popular song, which has gone into a new edition within the last few years. We have not met with the name Owen Lawgoch in any poetry written before the year 1370. It may be that to the Welsh of the 14th century, the word Llaw-goch was equivalent to the English Red-hand, and had the secondary meaning of outlaw. Were this so, it would explain why Owen ab Thomas should have been thus designated.

APPENDIX I.

An interesting episode illustrative of the attitude of the English government towards Owen of Wales is recorded by the St. Alban's writer of the *Chronicon Angliæ*, 1328-1388, which has been edited under that title by Sir E. Maunde Thompson in the Rolls Series. In his preface the editor observes that about the end of 1376 or 1377 "John Menstreworth, a soldier who had deserted to the French, was brought prisoner to England. It should be remarked that in his confession he speaks of assisting an unknown pretender to the throne of Wales. He was condemned to death, but before execution wrote a private letter to the king, filling 'maximam partem folii papyri regalis,' which he delivered into the hands of lord Henry Percy. This letter was never seen again. Something in it that touched the consciences of lord Percy and the duke [of Lancaster: John of Gaunt] is suggested as the cause of its suppression" (p. lvii).

The chronicler's narrative runs as follows:—

"*De captione J. Menstreworthe et morte ejus.* Per idem tempus captus est quidam miles, nomine Johannes Menstreworthe, qui proditiose exercitum deseruerat Anglicanum, eo tempore quo dominus Robertas Knollis, mandato regis Angliæ, cum multa turba magnatum, missus fuerat ad invadendum vel subjugandum suo nomine regnum Francorum. Hic itaque Johannes et ingenio providus erat et manu promptus, sed ambitiosus plurimum; multosque in eadem expeditione duxit valentes et fortes. Unde contigit, cum cerneret eundem Robertum alios quoque dominos ejus consilia parvipendere, ut indignatus campum desereret [*another MS.* deferret] et eosdem relinqueret inter manus hostiles, ea præcipue tempestate qua maxime ejus auxilio indigebant. Factumque est, ut tali occasione et exercitus noster magna dispendia pateretur, et ipse ad regem Franciæ iret transfuga mente perversa. Cujus consilio idem rex usus, multa mala intulit genti nostræ. Tandem captus est in Navaria a quodam Vasconensi armigero, dicto Lodowico de Sancto Egidio, juxta urbem Pampilionem, dum literas et mandata regis Francorum deferret versus Hispaniam, ad colligendum ibidem tam copiam armatorum

quam navium, ad regnum Angliæ invadendum; quorum omnium ipse fuerat dux decretus. Advectus in Angliam et ad confessionem compulsus, fatebatur quod circa Pascha cum , [Note: Blank in the Harl. MS.] qui se dicit heredem Walliæ, venisset ad invadendum easdem partes, quatenus, propriis restitutus, avita hereditate gaudere ejus auxilio potuisset, et ipse ad regem Franciæ iterum remeasse. Iccirco post paucos dies condempnatus morte turpissima, cum cerneret nullam omnino evadendi viam, postulavit calamum et papyrum, quos dominus Henricus Percy præcipit afferri; scripsitque maximam partem folii papyri regalis, et signavit illud, rogans ne alius quam ipse dominus rex illud signaculum removeret. Quod suscepit de ejus manibus dominus Henricus Percy; sed quis sigillum amoverit, quisve contenta perspexerit, soli, ut dicitur, dux et ille sciverunt. Unde creditum est, quia ad lucem illud scriptum non est venire permissum, eo quod quædam ibidem contenta perspexerint soli, ut dicitur, dux et ille, et alterius vel amborum conscientias contingebant. Idem vero Johannes, postquam talia conscripsisset tractus et suspensus, ac decapitatus, necnon in quatuor partes sectus, satis, ut dicebatur, pœnitens, proditoribus provenientes fructus collegit."

There can be little doubt that the personage who called himself the heir to [the crown of] Wales, and who talked of invading the principality for the purpose of resuming his hereditary rights, was Owen of Wales, but the fact that the chronicler did not know his name leads to the inference that his personality was not well known to English writers, though his name, his fame, and his claims were well impressed upon the minds of the English officials in France. Poor John Menstreworth or Minstreworth was executed, and in accordance with the horrible custom of the times, his body was dismembered, the quarters being consigned to the towns of York, Newcastle, Bristol, and Carmarthen. The portion destined for the last mentioned town was entrusted to a David ap John, who contracted for its conveyance to its destination, and whose account therefor has survived.[1] In another

[1] The portion for Bristol had to be made into an innocent looking parcel and shipped "with other merchandise." The Baron de Kettenhove (*Froissart*, ix, 508 note) gives the following from our

recension of the same chronicle John Minstreworth is said to have been a Gloucestershire man (in comitatu Gloucestriæ oriundus). He was in the English ranks, and is said to have joined the French in the year 1370, after a quarrel with Sir Robert Knollys. It is possible that he had heard the story of Owen's departure from Budefeld, and it is clear that the two became associated. However that may be, a partially illegible inquisition post mortem at the Record Office, of the 20th Jan. 47 Edw. III, enables us to say with certainty that Minstreworth held lands in Usk.

II.

No effort has been made in the above paper to explain the rise and development of the legend of Owain Lawgoch. This is no part of the duty of the historian; but, were it otherwise, he would have found himself forestalled and out-distanced by Professor Rhys. A word or two may, however, be permitted, not in explanation of the peculiar localisation of the legend, or, rather, the limited area within which Owain Lawgoch has become its protagonist, but as an aid to others more capable of offering such explanation. The country of Owain Lawgoch may be said to comprise the modern county of Carmarthen, the central theatre of his exploits being the romantic neighbourhood of Dinefwr, the chief seat of the South Wales princes of the line of Rhys ap Tewdwr. The legends with which Owain is expressly connected are, or recently were, current in other portions of South Wales

public records :—"Johanni Pole mercatori eunti cum aliis mercatoribus cum tertio quarterio ejusdem Johannis versus Bristol, et illud involvit infra unum fardellum inter alia mercimonia sua pro eo quod nullus inde sciret causa amicorum ejusdem Johannis commorantium in partibus illis et quia aliquem alium invenire non potuit ad executionem ejusdem quarterii faciendum, et vix prædictum Johannem causa supradicta ex conventione inde facta cum Johanne, 73 *s.* iv *d.*"

(especially the uplands of Glamorganshire, the country of Llewelyn Bren), but curiously enough they are not found in North Wales, where Arthur retains the position from which elsewhere in Wales he has been ousted. This being the case, it would be natural to look for Owen in the line of Deheubarth chieftains. So far, however, as I have been able to learn there is no such personage in the pedigrees of the Dinefwr families. But an Owen Goch was a great man in Carmarthenshire in the first half of the fourteenth century, though I have been able to discover nothing about him beyond his name. This appears in an entry upon the patent rolls of the 13th Edward III (A.D. 1339), where, in a grant to Rhys ap Gruffudd of Dinefwr, are included certain lands of Lleucu (misread Llengu in the printed *Calendar* of the Public Record Office) daughter of Owen Goch. It would be quite in accordance with the principles of mythopœic development to find that this person, having become notorious for his hidings in caves, had lent his name to a greater Owen; though it is historically impossible that he could have been the Owen of Wales who was murdered in the year 1378. I am informed by Mr. W. Llewelyn Williams, barrister-at-law, that Owen Lawgoch is usually spoken of in the valley of the Towy as Owen Goch Lawgoch; and Mr. J. P. Owen, of 72, Comeragh Road, W., tells me that his mother used to relate the pedigree of a great Carmarthenshire family in which an Owen Goch figured. It may not be inappropriate to mention that in a pedigree which I have only just come across in British Museum *Harleian* 1969, Thomas ap Rhodri is given a daughter (not named, but *quære* Elin, see the pedigree from *Hengwrt* 351, *ante* p. 25), said to have been married to Meredydd ap Gruffudd (*alias* ap Owen) ap Gruffudd ap yr arglwydd Rhys of Dinefwr.

The South Wales genealogies are in a terrible tangle, and not one of them can be accepted for historical purposes without correction and corroboration from the public records.

III.

In the second volume of *Feudal Aids*, recently issued by the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records, under the county of Gloucester, at p. 251, is the following entry relating to the year 1303 :—

"Hundredum de Byseley. De Botherico (*rectius* Rotherico) filio Grifyny pro quarta parte un[ius] f[eodum] m[ilitis] in Budefelde." (De eodem comite [H. de Bohun], sed per forisfacturam accidit regi, *added*.)

Further on (p. 286) is the following, of the date of 1346 :—

"Hundredum de Byseleye. De Thoma Rotherwyk pro quarta parte un. f. m. in Budefeld quam Rothericus (filius Grifyny), pater suus, quondam tenuit ibidem, xs."

The first of these entries proves that the small estate of Budefeld had been enjoyed by Rhodri ap Gruffudd, and the passages at p. 39 of this paper require modification accordingly. It would also seem that Thomas did not succeed to the manor by hereditary right, his father Rhodri's grant appearing to be for life only. Thomas obtained a re-grant, and was in possession in A.D. 1346.

CORRIGENDA.

P. 19, 8th line from bottom, alter "to John de Neville" into "of John de Neville", and *dele* "by John de Neville" in last line but one of same page.

P. 23, 12th line from bottom, *dele* the square bracket.

P. 37, last line, and p. 44, line 15, the year 1364 should be 1363; *vide* Thomas ap Rhodri's inq. post mortem, p. 47.

P. 40, 6th line. The date of the returns called *Nomina Villarum* is the 9th Ed. II, not Ed. I.

P. 44, 12th line from bottom, for "Gruffudd ap Iorwerth", read "Gruffudd ap Llewelyn ap Iorwerth".

CANU PENILLION.[1]

GAN Y

PARCH. W. H. WILLIAMS (Watcyn Wyn).

Pa fodd y dechreuwyd canu geiriau, canu llinellau, canu penillion? Yr wyf bron meddwl mai adrodd wedi codi i hwyl ydyw, siarad wedi angerddoli,—

"Ymadroddion ar dân
Yw geiriau ar gân."

Y mae barddoniaeth yn y meddwl, a cherddoriaeth yn y llais yn galw ar eu gilydd ac yn ateb eu gilydd o hyd. Beth yw'r "Hwyl Gymreig" ond siarad ar gân, a chynghorwn bob un i ofalu nad aiff i "hwyl" os nad all e' ganu,—ond yr wyf yn ofni fod rhai yn gwneyd.

Credwn mai y syniad cyntaf o ganu geiriau yw, ymollwng i adrodd yn naturiol nes codi i hwyl a gwres, a phriodi seiniau cydnaws a'r geiriau beth bynag fyddont. Y mae hyn yn amlycach yn ein hen gerddoriaeth nag ydyw mewn cerddoriaeth ddiweddar, ac y mae yn amlwg iawn yn y "canu gyda'r tannau", oblegid y darnodiad o hwnw yw "adroddiad ar gân". Fel hyn y dywed Idris Fychan mewn llyfr ar ganu gyda'r tannau, sydd wedi ei gyhoeddi gan Gymdeithas y Cymmrodorion; "nid canu yr alaw y bydd y dadgeiniad, ond rhoi adroddiad ar gân; y delyn sydd yn canu'r alaw". Yr offeryn sydd yn

[1] Read before the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion, at 20, Hanover Square, on Wednesday, the 11th of April, 1900. Chairman: Mr. William Jones, M.P.

cyfeilio y'nghaneuon y dyddiau diweddaf hyn, a'r llais dynol yn canu'r alaw, ond gyda'r tannau yr offeryn sydd yn canu'r alaw, a''r dadganwr yn cyfeilio. Fe all y dadganwr gyda'r tannau gymeryd digon o ryddid, os bydd yn deall ei waith, dim ond iddo ofalu am bum peth—mesur, acen, cynghanedd, amser, a thonyddiaeth.

Y mae y gelfyddyd yn myned dan dri enw gwahanol, sef Canu gyda'r tannau, Canu gyda'r delyn, a Chanu penillion. Canu gyda'r tannau mae'n debyg yw'r hen enw, a'r enw cyflawnaf, am fod yna offerynau llinynol eraill gan yr hen Gymry heblaw y delyn.

Yr oedd y crwth mewn bri neillduol fel offeryn Cymreig. Y mae un o'r hen feirdd Gryffydd ap Hywel wedi canu cywydd "Y Crwth Chwechtant", ac y mae yn werth ei ddyfynu i ddangos yr offeryn :—

" Prenol teg, bwa a gwregis,
Pont a bran, punt yw ei bris,
A thalaith ar waith olwyn
A'r bwa ar draws byr ei drwyn ;
Ac o'i ganol mae dolen,
A gwàr ŵyr megis gwr hen,
Ac ar ei frest gywir frig
O'r masarn fe geir miwsig ;
Chwe yspigod os codwn,
A dyna holl dànau hwn,
Chwe thant a gaed i fantais
Ac yn y llaw yn gàn llais,
Tant i bob bys ysbys oedd
A deudant i'r fawd ydoedd."

Gwelir felly y gall canu gyda'r tannau feddwl canu gyda'r delyn, neu gyda'r crwth, neu ryw offeryn llinynol arall.

Nid oes angen esbonio canu gyda'r delyn, y mae yn esbonio ei hun.

" Canu penillion,"—dylem ddweyd gair ar hyn. Yr oedd yna offerynau cerddorol eraill, heblaw y delyn deirhes, a'r crwth chwechtant gan yr hen Gymry, megis y

crwth trithant, y bibgorn, a'r tabwrdd, ac os na allai dyn feistroli un o'r offerynau hyn gallai gael pastwn, a gelwid ef yn "gerddor pen pastwn". Tebyg mai oddi wrth hyn y mae y term "pastynfardd" ein dyddiau ni yn dod, ac feallai mai tylwyth o'r un teulu ydynt.

Gallwn feddwl mai rhywbeth yn lle dawnsio oedd y pastwn yma, os na allai dyn chwareu a'i law, na dawnsio a'i droed, celai gynyg ar y pastwn. Y tro diweddaf y bu "cystadleuaeth ben pastwn" wirioneddol yn yr Eisteddfod Genedlaethol oedd yn Llangollen yn y flwyddyn 1858. Bu yno le difrifol yn ol yr hanes, pump neu chwech ar y llwyfan yn pastyno am y goreu! Ab Ithel mae'n debyg oedd y pechadur cenedlaethol ddygodd hyn i fewn, a bu rhai o'r gwyr selog am "drefn a dosbarth" yn bygwth ei bastyno yntau am wneyd hyn. Ond diangodd; tebyg fod ofn y pastynau eraill arnynt.

Mae'n debyg mai y delyn deirhes oedd y delyn Gymreig. "Y delyn droed", neu y "pedal harp" yw telyn y Sais, ac yr oedd y diweddar Mynyddog yn arfer dweyd mai y gwahaniaeth rhwng Cymro a Sais yn canu telyn oedd fod y Cymro yn chwareu a'i law, ond fod y Sais yn rho'i ei droed ynddi bob tro y byddai yn cynyg. Mae'n debyg mai telyn deirhes oedd y delyn gyntaf enillodd Pencerdd Gwalia, a'r hyn oedd yn rhyfedd yn hono oedd fod y *bass* ar ochr y llaw dde, ar *air* ar ochr y llaw chwith, a'r peth cyntaf wnaeth y telynwr cyflym oedd, newid y tannau, er mwyn i'r llaw dde gael canu *air* a'r llaw chwith ganu *bass*. Ond y mae yn chwith genym feddwl, fod y Pencerdd medrus, wedi "rho'i ei droed ynddi" er's llawer dydd!

Mae'n debyg fod perthynas agos gynt rhwng y bardd, a'r telynwr, a'r dadganwr,—yr oedd y tri yn un. Yr oedd yn rhaid i'r pencerdd fod yn benbardd, a'r penbardd, yn bencerdd. Pe delai yr hen drefn yn ol, byddai genym lai o brif feirdd nag sydd, ac ni byddai y pencerdd mor aml

hefyd. Yr oedd yn rhaid i'r pencerdd gynt yn llys tywysogion Cymru Fu, allu gwneyd telyn, cyweirio telyn, canu telyn a'i law ei hun, gwneyd ei farddoniaeth ei hun, a chanu ai lais ei hun, ac yna celai ei dalu; ac yr oedd hi yn werth talu dyn felly—yr oedd yn dalentog mewn gwirionedd. Eithaf peth fyddai cael yr hen drefn yn ol, er mwyn i'r bardd chwilio am ei lais, a'r cerddor am ei awen, ac atal eu tal os na allant wneyd hyny.

Mae'n debyg mai mewn cystadleuaeth y dechreuwyd canu penillion. Yr oedd yr hen Gymry yn enwog iawn am gystadlu. Yr oedd ganddynt bedair-camp-ar-hugain mewn chwareu, pedair-cainc-ar-hugain mewn miwsig, a phedwar-mesur-ar-hugain mewn barddoniaeth. Pwy all esbonio dirgelwch y rhif "pedwar-ar-hugain" yn Llyfr Dadguddiad ein hen genedl ni?

Yn amser Hywel Dda, pan fuasai y pencerdd farw cystadleuid am ei gadair yn y llys. Os buasai mwy nag un teilwng yn cynyg yr oedd yn rhaid penderfynu drwy gystadleuaeth, a chystadleuaeth galed oedd hi, am fod y sefyllfa yn urddasol a'r tal yn dywysogaidd, ar dynion mwyaf athrylithgar a gwrteithiedig yn y wlad yn cynyg am y swydd.

Wedi colli nawdd y tywysogion, a chefnogaeth bonedd y wlad y dysgwyd canu penillion gan y werin. Credwn mai yn canu penillion, ac yn dilyn telyn y cafodd ysbryd y deffroad afael yn ei gyweirnod. Wedi i daran dori uwchben y llys, wedi i'r ystorm ddychrynu y pendefigion yn eu palasdai, ac i hen noddfeydd y gân gael eu chwalu y cafodd gwerin Cymru afael yn "y gân a gollwyd". Chwalwyd y gân, ond nid aeth un nodyn i golli. Crewyd discord ond ni ddinystriwyd y gynghanedd. Collwyd y pencerdd, ond cadwyd y gerdd yn fyw. Tarawyd y bardd i lawr, ond dyrchafwyd yr Awen. Wedi peidio talu neb aeth pawb i ganu am ddim, ac "ni bydd diwedd"

byth ar swn y delyn mwy. Credwn mai dyma ddechreu canu, a dylem ninau fel cenedl feallai "ddechreu canmol" y rhagluniaeth ryfedd ddygodd hyn i fodolaeth.

Y mae Gweirydd ap Rhys, yn "*Hanes Llenyddiaeth Gymreig*" yn dweyd; Pan derfynodd cefnogaeth gyffredinol y pendefigion i Farddoniaeth, ac y peidiodd a bod yn grefft i enill arian fel yr oedd hi gynt, daeth penillion a chaneuon, ac anterliwdiau i gael eu cyfansoddi a'u coleddu yn fwy cyffredinol"; ond nid dyma y pryd y dechreuwyd ysgrifenu cyfansoddiadau o'r ansawdd hyn. Yr oedd cefnogi a chyfoethogi y bobl a phenillion a diarhebion yn un o hen arferion y sefydliad barddonol.

Yr oedd tai cân a thelyn yn gyffredin y'Nghymru gynt, ac yr oedd y muriau wedi eu gorchuddio a phenillion, a thrioedd, a diarhebion; a'r pethau hyn yr oedd yr hen Gymry yn "papyro y gwelydd",—nid rhyfedd eu bod yn hyddysg ynddynt. I'r tai hyn y byddai bechgyn a merched talentog y gymydogaeth yn crynhoi i gwrdd a'u gilydd, i gystadlu canu a barddoni. Dyma lle tarddodd y ffrydiau sydd wedi gwneyd "môr o gân" o Gymru i gyd.

Canent bob math o ganeuon. Y mae Idris Fychan yn dweyd fod pedwar dosbarth o ganeuon ganddynt, sef (1) Caneuon gwladgarol, (2) Alawon helbul, (3) Cerddi dawnsio, ac (4) Alawon bugeiliol a charwriaethol. Yr oeddynt yn rhanu eu halawon yn *sets*, yr hyn sydd yn profi eu bod yn deall cerddoriaeth ac yn gallu ei threfnu.

Nid yn unig yr oedd hi yn gystadleuaeth rhwng y dadgeiniaid a'u gilydd, ond yn gystadleuaeth galed rhwng y telynwr a'r dadganwr, am fod un yn ceisio bwrw y llall allan. Gall y dadgeiniad daro i fewn lle y mŷn, ond peidio taro ar ddechreu'r *bar*, a gall fyn'd lle y myno ond gofalu bod yn ol i orphen i'r eiliad gyda'r delyn. Os elai y telynwr allan yr oedd y cwmni yn gwaeddi "Dyna dwll

yn y delyn"; os elai y dadgeiniad allan gwaeddent oll, "Dyna dwll yn y gân".

Wrth gystadlu celai yr un ar ben y rhes ddewis ei fesur i ddilyn y delyn, a byddai yn rhaid i bob un y tro hwnw ddilyn yn yr un mesur. Yr ail dro celai yr ail gychwyn a dewis ei fesur, a byddai yn rhaid i bob un y tro hwnw ei ddilyn yntau, ac felly nes myned o gylch i gyd. Yr oedd hyn yn gofyn côf da a digon o benillion, neu ynte awen barod a digon o allu gwneyd penill ar unrhyw fesur.

Y mae dau ddull o ganu, dull y Gogledd a dull y De, ac y maent yn dra gwahanol. Canu "sill am dant", maent yn y De, a chanu cyfeiliant yn ol dull y Gogledd. [Rhoddwyd engreifftiau o'r ddau ddull mewn cân gan Eos Dâr.] Fel y dywedasom, yn y tai cyffredin, yn hen amaethdai y wlad,—ar ol colli nawdd llys a phalas,—y dysgodd y werin ganu penillion, a diamau mai yno yr oedd y canu goreu, yr oedd yn fwy rhydd, ac yn fwy cartrefol. Teimlad llawer un o'r bechgyn doniol, ac o'r merched glân wrth agoshau at ambell hen amaethdy oedd:—

"Wel dyma'r hen dy wyf yn garu,
Hen dy canu telyn y'Nghymru!
A'r gwellt iddo'n do,
A'r drws heb un clo,
A'r mur ddim rhy falch i'w wyngalchu!

"A phistyll bach gloew yn disgyn
Dan ganu wrth dalcen y bwthyn,
A'r pistyll bach glân
Yn dweyd am y gân
A glywid o fewn yr hen gegin!

"A digon o le ar y pentan
I gynwys y teulu yn gyfan,
A goleu tân glo
Yn gwneuthur y tro,
I gadw'r tywyllwch tu-allan.

"A chwmni o'r bechgyn doniolaf,
Yn gymysg a'r merched siriolaf,
A phob un a'i gân,
Yn gylch am y tân,
I loni nosweithiau y gauaf!

"Bydd Dafydd a'i law ar y delyn,
A Gwen gyda'i phenill yn dilyn,
A'r Awen fwyn dlôs
Yn canu'n y nôs
I gadw'r Bwciod o'r gegin,

"A'r Henwr o'i gader heb godi,
Ddystawa y stwr gyda'i stori,
Mae pob un yn glust,
A phawb yn dweyd 'ust',
Un doniol yw Newyrth am dani!"

Yr oedd "y stori" yn chwareu rhan bwysig ar yr hen aelwydydd doniol hyn, weithiau caffai ei hadrodd, bryd arall ei chanu. Onid "storiau" ar gân yw ein Bugeilgerddi a'n Rhiangerddi; a'r rheol gynt oedd eu cyfansoddi o'r dechreu i'r diwedd ar yr un mesur, ar un o fesurau yr hen alawon Cymreig, er mwyn eu canu gyda'r delyn.

Yr ydym wedi sylwi yn fynych mewn ambell Riangerdd, neu Fugeilgerdd ddiweddar, mai gwendid awenyddol yw newid y mesur; y mae y bardd fel yn myned maes o anadl ac yn newid ei fesur yn sydyn heb ddim yn y byd yn y gân yn gofyn am hyny, ond tebyg fod y rheswm i'w gael yn y bardd.

Mae'n debyg mai caneuon serch, a rhyw ganeuon bugeiliol, oedd yn cael eu canu fynychaf gan y bobl gyffredin, gan feibion a merched gwlad y delyn. Arthur yn cydio yn Elen a "braich o gywydd", ac Elen yn goglais Arthur a rhyw "gynghanedd braidd gyffwrdd",— y rhai hyn oedd penillion anwyl y beirdd, a'r rhai hyn oedd wrth fodd calon y merched, yn peri i'w llygaid ddisgleirio a'u gruddiau wrido o fwynhad! Cariad a Thelyn! Wrth

edrych dros hen benillion telyn, (Casgliad Mr. Jenkyn Thomas,) dyma y rhai gyfarfyddwn fynychaf o ddigon. Dyma ychydig o honynt:—

"Llawer gwaith y bu fy mwriad,
Gael telynor imi'n gariad,
Gan felused swn y tànau
Gyda'r hwyr a chyda'r borau.

"Cleddwch fi pan fyddwyf farw,
Yn y coed dan ddail y derw;
Chwi gewch weled llanc penfelyn,
Ar fy medd yn chwareu'r delyn!

"Ffordd fer i dreulio'r gaua,
Hir oriau tywydd eira,
Yw cadair fawr o flaen y tân,
A llunio cân ddiddana.

"Dau lanc ifanc aeth i garu,
Noswaith dywyll fel y fagddu,
Swn cacynen yn y rhedyn,
Troes nhw adre'n fawr eu dychryn.

"Os ai di garu dos yn gynar,
Cyn i'r merched fwyta'u swpar,
Ti gai weled yn y gwydyr
Pwy sydd lan a phwy sydd fudur

"Llawn yw'r mor o heli a chregin,
Llawn yw'r wy o wyn a melyn,
Llawn yw'r coed o ddail a blodau,
Llawn o gariad merch wyf finau.

"Lle bo'r cariad, wiw mo'r ceisio
Cloi mor drws na'i ddyfal folltio,
Lle bo'r 'wyllys fe dŷr allan
Drwy'r clo dûr a'r dderwen lydan."

Ond waeth heb ddyfynu penillion telyn a serch, y maent yn ddirif, a chenid hwy yn ddiddiwedd, ac y mae yr hen fesur hwn yn bur boblogaidd; mewn gwirionedd nid oes un mesur wedi cael cymaint o le yn marddoniaeth Cymru, y mae t'rawiad naturiol y llinell yn cerdded gyda ni i bob math o farddoniaeth lleddf a llon.

Mesur arall poblogaidd iawn yw y Triban, yn enwedig yn y De, yn Morganwg. Y mae rhai o nodweddion amlwg barddoniaeth Cymru yn y triban, megis yr "odl canol y llinell" a'r "gynghanedd braidd gyffwrdd":—

"Nid dwli canu telyn,
Nid anglod crefft gwneyd englyn,
Mae ambell un heb un o'r ddwy,
O lawer fwy o lolyn,

"Y genedl ddeil i ganu,
A'r diddan fo'n prydyddu,
Ddaw dim un gwarth i dad na mam,
O'r hanes am y rheiny."

Yr oedd triawdau yn gyffredin iawn wedi eu rhoddi yn y tribanau, megis;

"Tri pheth sy'n anhodd hynod,
Byw'n sobr lle bo diod,
'Nabod merch wrth wel'd ei gwên
A thwyllo hen frythillod!"

ys dywedai rhyw hen fardd oedd wedi bod yn pysgota, a ffaelu dala dim drwy'r dydd.

Y mae "ergyd canol y llinell", wedi gwneyd gwaith cryf a phendant iawn yn ein hen farddoniaeth, yr oedd yr hoel yn cael ei tharo ar ei phen yn hwn bob amser, ac ergyd i dre gan law gyfarwydd, a rhyw anadl cynghanedd yn cynorthwyo.

Difyr iawn fyddai olrhain dadblygiad y gynghanedd yn ein barddoniaeth. Yr oedd yr holl fesurau oddigerth dau neu dri yn ein meddiant cyn cynghanedd. Gadawodd Dafydd ap Edmwnd rai o honynt allan, a rhoddodd i fewn dri neu bedwar mesur digon diddefnydd a disynwyr. Wn i a ganodd Dafydd awdyl ar y pedwar-mesur-ar-hugain ar ol yr un yn Eisteddfod Caerfyrddin 1451?

Cymerodd y telynegwyr at y mesurau caethion i'w canu gyda'r delyn, am fod yn dda gan glust y Cymro glywed

swn y gynghanedd. Daeth pedwar-mesur-ar-hugain cerdd dafod, a phedair-caingc-ar-hugain cerdd dant i alw am eu gilydd yn foreu, a chafodd y dadgeiniad le iawn i ddangos ei allu i ddarllen ac acenu yn gywir yn y mesurau caethion, —ond nid yw pob un o honynt wedi dod yn boblogaidd —y pigion genir.

Credwn fod llawer o'r duedd i fod yn gywrain gyda'r delyn wedi codi o'r fan hon; a dichon fod hyn yn cyfrif am boblogrwydd y gynghanedd, yn enwedig yn y Gogledd.

Y mae amryw engreifftiau dewisol o'r cynghaneddion i'w gweled yn llyfr Idris Fychan. Dyma benill cynganeddol prydferth iawn;

"Tra bo rhew yn dew ar dwyn,
Iâ'n y cwm, a llwm y llwyn,
Wyf ddi fraw'n cyweiriaw can,
Yn fardd hy mewn ty min tan,
Byw fel hyn mewn bwthyn bach,
Brenin wyf am bron yn iach."

Rhagorol o beth i ddysgu dyn i ddarllen a geirio ac acenu yn briodol, yw canu cynghanedd gyda'r delyn. Byddai'n werth i lawer o ddadganwyr y dyddiau hyn fyned drwy gwrs o addysg "canu gyda'r delyn" er mwyn dysgu geirio yn hyglyw a phriodol, a chofio fod swn i ddilyn synwyr, a'r gair i ledo'r gan. Dylid sefydlu Ysgol Canu Penillion, os am gadw'r hen genedl a'r hen iaith gyda'u gilydd y'ngwlad y gân. Nid ydym yn cymeryd arnom farnu y canu, ond gallwn ddweyd fod y geirio yn cael rhy fach o sylw o'r haner, a'r feddyginiaeth oreu i hyn fyddai canu gyda'r delyn.

Tra yn son am ddysgu geirio yn gywir, eithaf peth fyddai i'n dadganwyr gofio tafodiaith hen gân, a'i chanu yn ol y dafodiaith yn yn hon y cyfansoddwyd hi. Os bydd y gân yn ol tafodiaith Gogledd Cymru caner hi felly, ond yn ol tafodiaith Dyfed allan a hi yn iaith y wlad hono, os yn ol

iaith Morganwg, peidier ar un cyfrif a cheisio ei gwyrdroi. Gallem nodi "Y Gwenith Gwyn" fel engraifft

"Pa un a'i fi ai arall Gwèn
Sydd oreu gèn dy galon"

dyna ddywed y bardd yr ydym yn dra sicr, ond fel hyn mae y gwelliant diweddar,

"Pa un ai fi ai arall Gwen
Sydd oreu gan dy galon"

yr hyn sydd yn dinystrio sill acenol canol y llinell, yr hen ergyd Cymreig ydym wedi bod yn son am dano.

Felly am "Y deryn pur", y mae y'deryn yn colli llawer o'i bluf harddaf wrth fod y dafodiaith yn cael ei newid. Cân bachgen ifanc wedi meddwi ar gariad, ac wedi haner meddwi ar gwrw yw "Y deryn pur", cân wledig syml o ran miwsig a geiriau, a gresyn na chelai hi ei chanu felly bob amser, a rhaid ei chanu felly cyn gweled ei gogoniant.

" Y deryn pur a'r aten las,
Bydd imi'n was dibrydar,
Brysur brysia at y ferch,
Lle rhoes i'm serch am hydar ;
Dos di ati, dwad wrthi,
Mod i'n wylo'r dwr yn heli
Mod i'n irad am ei gwelad,
Ac o'i chariad yn ffaelu a cherad,
O! Duw faddeuo i'r hardd ei llun
Am boeni dyn mor galad."

Caner yr hen gân yn rhydd a naturiol heb addurno dim arni ac heb geisio gwneyd y miwsig na'r geiriau yn rhy glasurol, a bydd blâs a hwyl arni.

Yr oedd llawer o benillion yn cael eu gwneyd ar y pryd, os na fuasai digon o honynt ar gôf y dadgeiniad yr oedd yn rhaid iddo allu gwneyd penill yn fynych neu golli ei le yn y gân, a cholli y wobr yn y gystadleuaeth. Yr oedd yna hen alawon a chydgan rhwng pob llinell, er

mwyn rhoi amser i'r bardd a'r dadganwr wneyd llinell newydd tra buasai y cwmni yn canu y cydgan megis "Nos Galan", "Hob y deri dando", ac "Ar hyd y nos".

Dyma engraifft o "Nos Galan" gyda'r geiriau "Dyna ydyw'r gwir, a'r gwir i gyd" ar gyfer y cwmni, yn gydgan rhwng y llinellau :—

"Mae y dyn ag arian ganddo,
Dyna ydyw'r gwir, a'r gwir i gyd,
Ar holl wlad yn perthyn iddo,
Dyna ydyw'r gwir, a'r gwir i gyd
Ond os cyll ei aur a'i urddas,
Dyna ydyw'r gwir, a'r gwir i gyd
Aiff yn union heb berthynas,
Dyna ydyw'r gwir, a'r gwir i gyd.

"Mi rois goron am briodi
Dyna ydyw'r gwir, a'r gwir i gyd
Ni rof ddimai byth ond hyny
Dyna ydyw'r gwir, a'r gwir i gyd
D'wedais wers o flaen y person
Dyna ydyw'r gwir, a'r gwir i gyd
Mae'n edifar gan fy nghalon,
Dyna ydyw'r gwir, a'r gwir i gyd."

Hefyd, yr oedd amgylchiadau lleol, a digwyddiadau perthynol i'r ardal, a chyfeiriadau at rai o'r cwmni, yn cael sylw neullduol ac arbenig. Nid canu hen benillion o hyd, ond penillion wedi eu cyfansoddi yn "newydd spon" ar gyfer yr amgylchiad.

Y mae Eos Dâr wedi gwneyd mwy na neb y gwyddom am dano yn yr ystyr hyn ynglyn a'r Eisteddfod Genedlaethol, oddi ar Eisteddfod Aberhonddu yn 1889 hyd yn awr. Y mae wedi canu penillion ar gyfer y lle a'r amgylchiadau y'mhob Gorsedd y bu yn canu ynddi, o hyny hyd yn hyn.[1]

[1] Y mae cronicl lled gyflawn o'r cyfryw iw cael yn "Cân a Thelyn", cyhoeddedig gan B. Parry, Oxford Street, Swansea.

Dyma ychydig enghreifftiau o "benillion achlysur". [Canwyd hwy yn y cyfarfod gan Eos Dâr.]

CYMRU A LLUNDAIN.

"Beth wnelai Llundain,
Er cymaint yw hi,
Heb ferched a bechgyn
O Gymru fach ni;
Am gân, ac am delyn,
A phregeth gwir yw,
Hen Gymru sy'n cadw
Tref Llunden yn fyw.

"O Gymru daw'r canu,
O Gymru daw'r stŵr,
Daw Llunden bron tagu
I Gymru am ddŵr;
Mae Llunden yn anfon
I hen wlad y gân,
Am laeth ac am enwyn,
Am ddŵr, ac am dân!"

TYWYSOG CYMRU A'R BWLEDAU.[1]

"Byw fo Tywysog hen wlad y gân,
Er gwaethaf cawodydd o fwledi tân,
Mae'r delyn yn canu, diolch i Dduw,
Am gadw Tywysog Cymru'n fyw."

W. JONES A. S. A'R GADAIR.

"Pwy allasai lanw'r gadair heno,
Fel y gwna boneddwr glan o Gymro;
William Jones o Ogledd Arfon
Cymro pur, a brwd ei galon."

Y DELYN A'R PENCERDD.

"Beth fuasai Cymru heb ei thelyn?
Buasai fel y gauaf heb y celyn!
A buasai 'r delyn ddigon tila,
Oni buasai bysedd Pencerdd Gwalia!"

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[1] Cyfeiriad at yr ymosodiad llofruddiog ar Dywysog Cymru yn Mrussel.

Y Cymrodorion a'u Hysgrifenydd.

"Beth fuasai'r byd heb Gymrodorion?
Buasai fel anialwch heb frodorion.
Beth fuasai Cymrodorion Llunden,
Heb gael Vincent wrth eu cefen!"

Ar ol y deffroad ydym wedi son am dano, daeth yna ddirywiad y'nglyn a chanu penillion, a dichon y gallwn ro'i dau neu dri rheswm am hyny.

Yn gyntaf, y mae y byd yn myned yn fwy prysur, a'r byd Cymreig yn gorfod dilyn. Adlais o'r "oes hamddenol" yw canu gyda'r delyn. Difyrwch hirnos gaua'r "amser gynt" ydyw. Oes arall yw'n hoes ni! Yn ail, y mae yn anhawddach byw yn awr nag oedd. Y mae mwy o gystadleuaeth afiach a rhaid gwneyd mwy o waith; gan hyny, mae y canu a'r barddoni wedi myned yn grefft i enill arian.

"Mae'r bardd yn canu ei ganeuon serch,
Er mwyn y wobr, ac nid er mwyn y ferch.
Mae aur ac arian heddyw'n fwy o swyn,
Na hudol serch, a gwenau cariad mwyn!
Mae llais y galon wedi ei golli'n lan,
Cyweirnod arian yw cyweirnod can!
Mae'r bardd yn canu ei alarnad dlawd,
Er mwyn ei bres, ac nid er mwyn ei frawd!
Mae mwy o swyn i feirddion Gwalia wèn,
Yn nail y program, nag yn nail y pren!
Mae natur wedi ei cholli dan y ne',
Yr ymarferol sydd yn llanw'i lle.
Mae'r Awen yn cardota'r dyddiau hyn,
Nid byw'n frenhines yn ei phalas gwyn;
Nid canu ar destynau bythol grand,
Ond rhyw geinioca fel rhyw German Band;
Nid canu telyn natur a'i mwynhau,
Ond chwareu giwga am ei bwyd y mae!
Nid canu mwy er mwyn y gerdd na'r gair,
Mae'r delyn wedi myn'd yn delyn aur,
Mae'r delyn gynt fu a'i thànau yn dair rhes,—
Heb ond trithant,—tant arian, aur, a phres!"

Yn drydydd ac yn olaf, oferedd. Rhaid i ni gyfaddef fod y delyn wedi bod yn ofera, a'r telynwr yn llymeita, a'r bardd yn yfed, a'r dadganwr yn meddwi. Aeth rhai i wneyd crefft o honi, a chrefft lawn o demtasiynau, o wledd i wledd, ac o balas i balas, ac yn y diwedd o dafarn i dafarn, a gadawodd y cantorion respectable hi oherwydd hyny, ac yna aeth y canu a'r penillion yn isel.

Buwyd yn canu sothach gyda'r delyn, ac aeth teimlad Piwritanaidd Cymru yn ei herbyn o achos hyny, ac aeth y crwth, a'r delyn, a'r bardd, a'r cerddor yn bethau ysgymun yn ei olwg; ac y maent yn ysgymun bethau hyd y dydd hwn y'ngolwg llawer o ddynion crefyddol, ac ni fynant ddod yn ddigon agos iddynt i gael gweled eu bod yn camsynied. Mae'r bardd Cymreig heddyw mor sobor a'r un dyn yn y wlad ar gyfartaledd; mae'r delyn wedi ei dwyn yn ol o lan afonydd Babilon feddw; mae'r penillion wedi ymlanhau ac ymburo. Y mae y rhôd yn troi, ac y mae yr hen ganeuon difyr a da yn dod yn ol, a byddai yn fendith i ganwyr cyhoeddus Cymru wneyd mwy a'r grefft, er mwyn ei deall a'i harfer.

Dylai pob Cymro sydd yn proffesu bod yn fardd, neu yn gerddor, wybod rhywbeth am nodweddion Cymreig barddoniaeth a cherddoriaeth ei wlad a'i genedl. Y mae *cynghanedd* mewn barddoniaeth, a *chanu penillion* mewn cerddoriaeth yn nodweddion hollol Gymreigaidd a phagan o Gymro yw hwnw nad yw yn gwybod rhywbeth am brydferthwch a chyfrinion y ddwy gelfyddyd. Yr ydym wedi bod yn wan ac yn ffôl fel cenedl y'nglyn a'n nodweddion Cymreig. Y mae oes o ddiystyru wedi myn'd dros ein pen, a'n haddysg wedi bod yn hollol gamsyniol; ond fel y dywedwyd y mae y rhôd yn troi, a'n dynion mwyaf goleuedig a deallus yn ceisio'n harwain allan o'n camsynied dybryd. Gadewch i ni ddysgu canu cenhedloedd

eraill, ond ar bob cyfrif beidio esgeuluso ein canu prydferth cywrain ein hunain.

"Gadewch y gofid yn y byd
A dewch i gyd i ganu.
Ni fynwn dro ar 'Ben y Rhaw',
Neu rywbeth ddaw ran hyny,
Ni allwn hwylio fawr a mân
I'r mor o gân sy y'Nghymru!

"Gofalwch am benillion glân,
O gylch y tân yr hwyrnos,
A nithiwch bob rhyw us i ffwrdd,
Rhag dod i'r cwrdd yn agos,
Fel na bo dim o'r pethau hyn
Ond y 'Gwenith gwyn' yn aros."

WALES AND THE COMING OF THE NORMANS (1039—1093).[1]

By PROFESSOR J. E. LLOYD, M.A.

I PROPOSE in this paper to trace the course of Welsh history during the period which immediately preceded and that which followed the acquisition of the English crown by duke William of Normandy, and especially to discuss the relations between the Welsh and the followers of William in this the first age in which Welshman and Norman, for good and for evil, made each other's acquaintance. To two aspects of the subject I would in particular call your attention—the importance of the reign of Gruffydd ap Llywelyn as a preparation for the struggle with the Normans, and the anomalous course of the struggle during the first twenty years, when considerable progress was made by the barons with the conquest of North Wales, while the South remained almost intact in the hands of its native rulers.

We are all familiar with the manner of regarding the reign of Edward the Confessor as a preparation for the Norman Conquest of England. The story has often been told how Normans flocked to the court of Edward, were settled by him on the land, and were raised to bishoprics,

[1] Read before the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion at 20, Hanover Square, on Wednesday, the 9th of May, 1900; Chairman, Dr. Isambard Owen.

until the nation grew accustomed to their foreign ways and offered but a half-hearted resistance when they came over in their thousands. The reign of Gruffydd ap Llywelyn, Edward's contemporary, was in Wales a preparation in a very different sense. Gruffydd was the first Welsh prince for many years who had succeeded in uniting the whole race under his rule; he was, as one of the Saxon Chronicles calls him, "king over all the Welsh kin", and vindicated his right to the position by the most active operations against his English borderers. It cannot be doubted that his vigorous personality and independent attitude did much to infuse into his fellow countrymen a greater confidence in themselves, and so helped them after his death to offer a united resistance to the invader. His successes fired them, as the Elizabethans were fired by the triumphs of Drake and the sea-dogs.

During the age which preceded Gruffydd's appearance, the English had pushed their settlements, not only as far as the present boundary of Wales, but also in some places beyond it. I regard Offa's Dyke as a genuine attempt, which I find no difficulty in attributing to Offa himself, to mark off the English from the Welsh sphere of influence; and it proves on examination to be along a considerable part of its course a dividing line between the villages and townships with English and those with Welsh names. Now, I need not remind you that, starting as it does from near Prestatyn (the Prestetone of *Domesday*, and, therefore, simply Preston) and wending its way southward to Ruabon, it cuts off from Wales large parts of our Flintshire and Denbighshire, including the districts of Holywell, Flint, Hawarden, and Wrexham.[1] But be-

[1] Places called "Prestetone" or "Prestetune" are fairly common in *Domesday*, and, in the cases which I have been able to trace, are now represented by Prestons. Such are Preston, near Faversham,

yond this, the evidence of place-names goes to show that, even after Offa fixed his boundary in the eighth century, there was a further westward movement among the men of the march. In the neighbourhood of Montgomery, Edderton, Forden, Thornbury, Woodliston, Hopton—English settlements which date, as *Domesday* shows, from before the time of Gruffydd ap Llywelyn[1]—are all west of the dyke: further south, the border had in the same fashion been crossed by the dwellers in Waterdine, Weston, Pilleth, Radnor, Burlingjob, Kington, and a group of villages on the north bank of the Wye around Eardisley.[2] Nothing shows more clearly the strength of the English settlements on the border at this period than the statement made in *Domesday* that the three royal

Kent; and Preston Wynne, near Hereford. The accentuation of Prestátyn seems to create a difficulty, but Professor J. Morris Jones, to whom I have referred the point, explains that in the transition from the old Welsh accent on the last syllable to the modern accent on the last but one, the Prestetón of the eleventh century would readily become, on Welsh lips, Prestátun in the thirteenth. The shifting of the accent and the change from an unaccented e to a, are illustrated by Selattyn (for the "Suletune" of *Domesday*) and Cornattyn, the Welsh name of Corndon Hill.

[1] The *Domesday* forms are Edritune (*bis*), Furtune, Torneberie, Wadelestun, Hoptune. They will be found in the notice of Montgomery in the Shropshire Survey (Terra Rogerii Comitis). Of these townships, the first four are in the parish of Forden, Thornbury being the one which includes the "Gaer"; Hopton is in the parish of Churchstoke.

[2] Watrodene is entered as a vill of Ralph Mortimer's in the hundred of Leintwardine (Shropshire Survey). The Herefordshire lands of Ralph included two hides in Westune and two in Pelelei, which (with others) lay waste "in marcha de Wales". Berchelincope and Raddrenove, vills of "Hezetre" hundred in Herefordshire, were held by King William, who had also two hides in Chingtune. Herdeslege, Witenie, Hantinetune (Huntington), Cicvvrdine (Chickward), Willaveslege (Willersley), and Widferdestune (Winforton)—all in the hundred of Elsdon—may serve as examples of the vills spoken of as lying between Kington and the Wye.

manors of Whittington, Maesbury, and Chirbury together rendered in the time of King Ethelred, *i.e.*, about the year 1000, half a night's ferm. At the death of Edward the Confessor they were waste, and yielded not a penny.[1]

There is nothing in the scanty evidence on the Welsh side to lead us to take a more cheerful view of the position of the Welsh in the latter part of the tenth century and the early years of the eleventh. Maredudd ab Owain in 991 attacks Radnor, where presumably the English were already established; but in the next year his territories of Dyfed and Ceredigion, with Gower and Kidwelly, are harried, as a punishment, by an English force.[2] It is not until the accession of Gruffydd in 1039 that signs appear of a notable turn of the tide.

Gruffydd's father, Llywelyn ap Seisyll, appears to have borne rule over a considerable part of Wales for some five years (perhaps more) previous to his death in 1023. Of what family he came, and what region in Wales was his first home, it is impossible to say[3]; all that is known of the sources of his power is that he married Angharad, daughter of Maredudd ab Owain, who was king of South Wales at the end of the tenth century, and that thus there ran in

[1] "Tempore Adelredi patris Edwardi regis reddebant hæc tria maneria dimidiam firmam noctis" (Entry at the end of the notice of Wititone in the Shropshire Survey). This might mean as much as £50 (Round, *Feudal England*, p. 112).

[2] *Annales Cambriæ* and *Bruts*. Maes Hyfaidd is the name of a place, not of a district; accordingly there can be no question, as Woodward (*History of Wales*, i, 203) supposed, of a raid upon Radnorshire.

[3] I have not come across any pedigree of his father Seisyll; his mother Prawst is said to have been the daughter of Elise ab Anarawd ap Rhodri Mawr (Dwnn, *Heraldic Visitations*, ii, 10; see also p. 16). For a very curious story about "the Lady Trawst", wife of "Sytsyllt, a Nobleman and Governor of Hardin Castle", see the article on Hawarden in Carlisle's *Topographical Dictionary of Wales* (1811).

the veins of his son Gruffydd the blood of Rhodri Mawr and Hywel Dda.[1] Upon his death, Gwynedd reverted to the old line of Idwal Foel, represented by Iago ab Idwal; Deheubarth was for a short time held by Rhydderch ab Iestyn, upon whose reign a Glamorgan scribe looks back about a century later as a golden age, when there was no desert spot on hill or plain, and but three hamlets left solitary in all Wales[2]; it then passed to the descendants of Hywel Dda once more, Hywel ab Edwin being the reigning prince in 1039. In that year, Iago ab Idwal is slain by his own men, and Gruffydd ap Llywelyn reaps the advantage, whether guiltily or not we cannot tell[3]: he becomes, at any rate, king of Gwynedd, and, despite the silence of the chronicles, it may safely be inferred, of Powys as well.

The great figures of Welsh history are apt to fill the canvas with ample but misty outlines; their power is recognised in its effects, but of themselves it is difficult to get personal knowledge. One is as another; they seem to lack individuality. The reason, no doubt, is that the power of character drawing was not, for the most part, possessed by those who recorded their deeds of might—"carent quia vate sacro." Let but a Giraldus take up the pen, and Rhys ap Gruffydd will live before you. Now, no

[1] *Brut y Tywysogion*, ed. Rhys and Evans, pp. 296-7; Jesus Coll. MS. 20, as printed in *Y Cymmrodor*, viii, 88.

[2] "In cujus tempore nulla desolatio in montibus nec in plano nisi tantum tribus uillis per totam gualiam in solitario" (*Liber Landavensis*, ed. Evans and Rhys, p. 253). *Brut y Tywysogion* has a similar picture of the state of Wales ("or mor py gilyd") under Llywelyn ap Seisyll (p. 265).

[3] It will not do to hang any one on the evidence of so clumsy a translator of his Latin originals as the author of the compilation represented by *Brenhinoedd y Saeson* in Cleopatra B. v.—the *Brut y Saeson* of the Myvyrian editors. The deed was done "a suis", say the Irish annalists.

contemporary writer gives us anything like a character sketch of Gruffydd—the chronicle of his acts is of the barest. But it chanced that about a century after his death a Herefordshire man, who, like most men of position in that county, had a good deal to do with the lordship of Brecknock, found many legends still current among the men of Brycheiniog about the great Welsh chieftain, and, having an interest in such matters, jotted them down in his scrap book of stories.[1] Walter Map, it is true, speaks of the king throughout as Llywelyn, and calls his father Gruffydd; but it is not possible to mistake the man he has in mind, and the slip was one easily made. Altogether, the portrait he paints is a strongly individual one. We must not, of course, look for historical accuracy in stories passed on, as these were, through three generations; but truth of portraiture, if we allow for a little heightening of the effects, should not be denied them. A sluggish lad, needing to be spurred to ambitious thoughts and daring deeds, with faculties yet slumbering; in the maturity of his powers a forceful, passionate man, jealous of rivalry, alike in love and in statecraft, dealing destruction to all who thwarted his purposes, yet with a certain magnanimity which now and again flashed forth and relieved the darker colours—such is the picture painted of Gruffydd in the traditions preserved for us by Map. He had wit, too, of a grim and biting kind, if we may credit

[1] Walter Map's *De Nugis Curialium* was edited by T. Wright from the unique MS. (Bodley, no. 851) in 1850. The relevant sections are nos. xxii and xxiii in the second "distinctio". It was clearly from Brycheiniog the tale told in the former section originally came, for "stagnum de Behthenio" is Llangorse Lake, and appears in dist. ii, cap. 11, in the more intelligible form of "stagnum Brekeinauc". The close connection between Herefordshire and Brecknock during this period is well brought out in the "Cartulary of Brecon Priory" printed by R. W. Banks in *Archæologia Cambrensis* for 1882 and 1883.

the story that he justified his ruthless removal of all rivals from his path by saying that he did no murder, but only blunted the points of the horns of Wales, lest they should injure the dam.[1] The story told of his early days is to the effect that he was then a home-keeping lad, who sought no adventures. In the only son and heir of a king, this was deemed disgraceful, and at last his sister drove him out, one New-Year's Eve,[2] the recognised night for bold enterprises and weird experiences, to seek his fortune. He chose to hear it in a way then deemed infallible, by eavesdropping; and planted himself against the wall of a house (like all Welsh houses, of slender construction), where a company were seated around a cauldron in which were being cooked sundry pieces of beef. "See this piece", remarked one, as he peered into the bubbling pot; "often as I push it with my prong below the others, it nevertheless persists in coming to the top." Gruffydd's fortune was told, and thenceforth, we are informed, no one had reason to complain of his lack of energy. His generosity came out in a parley he held at the mouth of the Severn with king Edward. The Confessor had come to Aust Cliff, Gruffydd was at Beachley, not far from Chepstow—a mile of estuary separated them, and for a time neither would confess inferiority by crossing to meet the other. At last Edward, weary of the strife, entered a boat and made for the Welsh shore. Gruffydd was so overwhelmed by this condescension that he cast off his mantle of state, rushed into the stream until it ran breast high around

[1] "Neminem occido sed obtundo cornua Wallie ne possint ledere matrem." I have here and elsewhere checked the printed text by reference to the manuscript.

[2] Map, or his informant, probably confused Jan. 1 and Nov. 1, the first day of the Celtic year. Nos Galan Gaeaf was until recent years a favourite time for "rhamanta" or seeking omens (Elias Owen, *Welsh Folklore*, pp. 280, 281, 286, 288, 289).

him, and embraced the royal skiff in a passion of devotion. Then he carried Edward ashore on his shoulders and did homage to the king whose humility, he said, had conquered his pride and whose wisdom had put to shame his folly.

It was, then, no common man who became ruler of North Wales in 1039, and the victory of Rhyd y Groes ar Hafren, in which Edwin, brother of Earl Leofric of Mercia, and two royal thegns were slain by the Welsh under Gruffydd's leadership, opened the new reign auspiciously.[1] It has always been a matter of wonder to me how Mr. Freeman came to the conclusion that this battle was fought near Upton-on-Severn, in Worcestershire, a place at least twenty miles from the Welsh border: one would not have supposed that the arrangements for the defence of Mercia against sudden raids from across the border were so inadequate.[2] In point of fact, Rhyd y Groes ar Hafren was on the *Upper* Severn: it was a spot well known to Welsh mediæval tradition, and forms the scene of a good deal of the action of the Arthurian tale called the Dream of Rhonabwy. For it was the trysting-place where Arthur assembled his men in readiness for the great battle of

[1] Powel failed to see the identity of the battle of Rhyd y Groes and that referred to in the English chronicles (*Historie of Cambria*, reprint of 1811, p. 68). Other writers followed him in separating the two until Woodward (i, 206-7) saw a connection. Not to speak of the identity of date, there is the fact that in Heming's *Cartulary* the death of Edwin is ascribed to "Grifino rege Brittorum" (Oxford, 1723, p. 278).

[2] *Norman Conquest*, vol. i, p. 506 of the third edition. On the occasion of the reading of this paper, Mr. Willis-Bund told the Society that, when staying in the house with Mr. Freeman, at a place called the Rhyd, near Upton-on-Severn, he talked with him about the identification of Rhyd y Groes, and pointed out to the great historian that there was a carn at Hanley Castle, close by where they were staying, and this might be Rhyd y Groes—an identification which he afterwards found, to his dismay, had been seriously adopted.

Mount Badon; as Rhonabwy journeyed towards the ford across the broad meadows of Argyngroeg, the road was hemmed in for a mile on each side by the tents and the warlike gear of a busy host.[1] Montgomeryshire antiquaries[2] identify Rhyd y Groes with an old ford near Munllyn, in the parish of Forden, on what evidence I have not so far been able to ascertain; if one were to be guided solely by the language of the romance, it would be rather in the neighbourhood of Buttington or Welshpool one would look for it. But that it lay between Montgomery and Melverley is certain, and when the fact is borne in mind that the Severn was here the boundary between the two peoples, nothing seems more reasonable than that Gruffydd's first encounter with the English should have taken place at a notable ford across the river. Florence of Worcester speaks of the affair as an ambuscade[3]; this could scarcely have been contrived by the Welsh at the end of a long march across the Malvern Hills; at their own doors, as the train of Mercian notables was crossing into Powys, with no suspicion of the bold

[1] "Yn kerdet ar traws maes argygroec ae ohen ae vryt a debygei y uot parth a ryt y groes ar hafren. . Ac yna y kerdassant ar traws maes mawr argygroec hyt yn ryt y groes ar hafren. A milltir y wrth y ryt o pob tu yr fford y gwelynt y lluesteu ar pebylleu a dygyfor o lu mawr" (*Mabinogion*, ed. Rhys and Evans, pp. 146, 148). The townships of Gungrog Fawr and Gungrog Fechan occupy some two miles of the western bank of the Severn, opposite Buttington.

[2] Gwallter Mechain, in the note on Argyngroeg in Lady Charlotte Guest's *Mabinogion* (p. 322 of the one volume edition), and Mr. Robert Owen, of Welshpool, to whom I am indebted for a full reply to enquiries addressed to him on this subject.

[3] See the year 1052: "Hæc pugna facta est eodem die quo ante xiii annos fratrem comitis Leofrici Eadwinum Walenses *per insidias* interfecerunt" (*Mon. Hist. Brit.*, p. 605). The "ignominiosa morte" of Heming's *Cartulary* (see note 1 on p. 129) points in the same direction.

tactics which the new chieftain would employ, it was a comparatively easy matter.

The decisive character of the victory of Rhyd y Groes appears from the fact that no reprisals were attempted. Gruffydd found himself at liberty to take up other enterprises, and henceforth the English seem content to rest on the defensive. The writer who, after Edward's death, penned for his widow an account of the reign, tells how the Welsh, untamed in their snowy fastnesses, have of late dared even to cross the Severn and rain blows on the English realm; they are too strong, he says, while Gruffydd is their King.[1] This appears to have been the attitude of the nation; the rise of Gruffydd was a stroke of ill-luck, to be endured as best might be until some happy chance put an end to his power.

The main task of Gruffydd during the next few years was the conquest of Deheubarth, ruled over at his accession by Hywel ab Edwin. Of the struggle which this involved the Welsh chronicles give us a few details, but such as it is not easy to piece together in a consistent narrative. Immediately after Rhyd y Groes, the Northerners poured into Ceredigion, where they treated with scant respect the property of the "clas", or monastic community of Llanbadarn Fawr.[2] It is not likely that the expulsion of Hywel, of which the records then speak, was more than a temporary affair, for two years later (1041) he was in a

[1] *Lives of Edward the Confessor*, ed. Luard (1858), p. 425 ("fortemque nimis regnante Griphino").

[2] The "dibobles" of *Brut y Tywysogion* no doubt represents "populavit", *i.e.*, "ravaged". The reference to Llan Badarn occurs only in *Brut y Tywysogion* and *Brenhinoedd y Saeson*—one of the many evidences that the Latin chronicle of which they furnish two independent versions was, though closely akin to MSS. B and C of *Annales Cambriæ*, distinguished from them in being, at least in part, a Llan Badarn record.

position to meet Gruffydd as far north in his realm as Pen Cader: there Gruffydd defeated him, and, among the spoils of victory, took possession of his wife. This is not at all hard to reconcile with the presentment of the Northern prince in the pages of Map, but the *Brut of Aber Pergwm*, in the clearer moral atmosphere of the sixteenth century, deems an apology to be necessary, and informs us that this was "the only deed, of all the deeds ever done by Gruffydd, which did not meet with the approval of the sages".[1] Hywel was, however, not yet disposed of, for in 1042 he still held the region round Carmarthen, defeating at Pwll Dyfach, near Bwlch Newydd, a Danish host who were ravaging Dyfed.[2] The struggle did not end until 1044, when the Southern prince, who was leading a fleet of twenty Danish vessels up the estuary of the Towy, in order to enforce his claims, was at last overwhelmed by Gruffydd.

Gruffydd had now achieved his object, and added Deheubarth to his original possessions. But provincial feeling was strong in the south, and soon enabled a new rival to show himself in the person of Gruffydd, son of Rhydderch ab Iestyn. Two years of conflict followed, in the course of which Gruffydd appears to have formed an alliance with Swegen, son of Godwin, whose earldom included Herefordshire, and to have brought Swegen into South Wales in order to prop up his shaken authority. But the slaughter in 1047 of his household troops, his

[1] "A thyna'r unig weithred, o'r holl weithredoedd a wnaeth Ruffydd, a beris anfoddlondeb i'r Doethion" (*Myv. Arch.*, Denbigh edit., p. 695).

[2] A family of some consequence were settled at Pwll Dyfach in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries (*Gwaith L. G. Cothi*, pp. 293, 298; *Dwnn*, i, 95, 143). The local pronunciation is now Pwll Dyfarch, and in the old one-inch ordnance map this has been further distorted into Pwll-dwy-fraich!

"familia" or "teulu",[1] to the number of 140, by the great men of Ystrad Tywi, turned the scale in favour of his opponent, and in 1049 it is Gruffydd ap Rhydderch who joins hands with a Danish hosting from Ireland, ravages the coast of Gwent and the manor of Tidenham,[2] and, by striking unexpectedly in the dawn of a July morning, scatters in dismay the shire forces of Hereford and Gloucester, assembled for the defence of the district by Bishop Ealdred of Worcester.

It was not until 1055 that the northern Gruffydd rid himself of his rival and became once more, what he continued to be for the rest of his career, supreme ruler of all the Welsh race. Meanwhile, a new menace to his power was involved in the establishment in 1051 of Ralph of Mantes, nephew of king Edward, as earl of Hereford, with a considerable Norman following. We are entitled, I think, to assume that it was the new position of affairs in the shire which led Gruffydd to adopt once more an aggressive policy towards England; in 1052 he led a plundering expedition in the direction of Leominster, which was with difficulty driven back by the combined

[1] The "teulu" of old Welsh literature is not the family of modern life, nor yet the household of mediæval times, but the "house-host" (Stokes, *Urceltischer Sprachschatz*, p. 321), the "comitatus" or armed escort of the prince. Its members were divorced from family life and the "penteulu" was their leader, the captain of the guard. See Aneurin Owen's edition of *The Welsh Laws*, i, 12–16, 358–60, 636; ii, 755–6, 819, 898; Triads on p. 305 of Oxford edit. of *Mabinogion*; introduction to *Breuddwyd Rhonabwy* (p. 144); *Brut y Tywysogion*, ed. Rhys and Evans, p. 291, l. 26.

[2] So I interpret the "Dymedham" of Florence. This thirty-hide manor of the abbey of Bath is styled "Dyddenhame" in king Edwy's grant (*Codex Diplomaticus*, Kemble, iii, 444), though the *Domesday* form is Tedeneham. The coast about the mouth of the "Wylisce Axa" (Usk) was probably held by Meurig ap Hywel of Morgannwg, who was, we may suppose, an ally of Gruffydd ap Llywelyn. See p. 145.

English and Norman forces. But it was in 1055, after the death of Gruffydd ap Rhydderch, that his great opportunity came, with the banishment of Ælfgar, son of the Earl of Mercia, and the return of the exile at the head of a Danish fleet. Ælfgar and he entered into an alliance, sealed now or later by the marriage of Gruffydd and Ælfgar's daughter, the beautiful Ealdgyth, who, after his death, became the wife of Harold. Together the two leaders invaded Herefordshire, defeated the forces of earl Ralph in a pitched battle, and took and sacked Hereford. I will not dwell on the details of a well-known story, except to say that the attack seems to me to have been made from the south, and to have been the occasion of that devastation of Archenfield, the Welsh Erging, by Gruffydd, which is mentioned in *Domesday*.[1] I base this opinion partly upon the fact that Earl Harold, when he had brought to the spot an army gathered from all parts of England to avenge the onslaught, made his way across the Golden Valley into Ewias,[2] and partly upon the fact that the peace which restored Ælfgar to his forfeited lands and dignities—a peace negociated between Gruffydd, Ælfgar, and Harold—was arranged at Billingsley, which, I take it, was the place so styled near Boulston, in Archenfield, and not, as has generally been supposed, Billingsley near Bridgnorth—far away in the heart of Mercia.

In the following year, Gruffydd and the men of Here-

[1] "Rex Grifin et Blein vastauerunt hanc terram tempore regis Edwardi et ideo nescitur qualis eo tempore fuerit." Bleddyn's share was no doubt done after 1063.

[2] "Ultra Straddele", says Florence of Worcester. The Herefordshire section of *Domesday Book* includes many references to "Stradel", "valle Stradelie", "valle Stradelei", and "valle Stratelie", which is clearly the "Strat Dour", "Estrateur", and "Istratour" of the *Liber Landavensis* (ed. Evans and Rhys, pp. 76, 42, 32), viz., Valley Dore.

fordshire were again at war, but I am inclined to believe that on this occasion the peace was broken by the English. Bishop Æthelstan had been succeeded at Hereford by the born fighter Leofgar, the priest whose moustachios, as Mr. Plummer has explained,[1] caused so much scandal among his brother clerics, and who now sought to prove his devotion to his patron Harold by an attempt to crush the prince who had given so much trouble in the previous year. It turned out unhappily; Leofgar and the sheriff and many others were defeated and slain in a battle which was fought near Glasbury.[2] The chronological tract called *O Oes Gwrtheyrn Gwrtheneu* speaks of this encounter as Gwaith Machawy; there is, in point of fact, a stream called the Machawy, now known as the Bachwy, which falls into the Wye some miles above Glasbury, and I am disposed to think we must look here for the exact spot which was the scene of the engagement.[3]

[1] *Two Saxon Chronicles parallel*, vol. ii (1899), p. 246. He was "Haroldes eorles mæsse preost," and clearly a soldier, with no love of the clerical life.

[2] "Clastbirig" is the reading of the MSS. of Florence of Worcester, according to *Mon. Hist. Brit.*, p. 608. An English "burh" seems at some time or other to have been raised on the spot, but in all probability the district was in 1056 well within Gruffydd's border.

[3] "O gnut vrenhin hyt vachawy yny oruu ruffud vab llywelyn ac y llas esgob y saesson, dwy vlyned a deugeint. O weith machawy yny las gruffud, naw mlyned" ("Bruts", etc., from *Red Book of Hergest*, ed. Rhys and Evans, p. 405). An old form of the name appears in the "d[r]iffrin machagui" of *Lib. Land.*, 255. Speed, too, has Machaway in his map of Radnorshire, but later writers appear to prefer Bachwy and Bachawy.

Mr. Gwenogvryn Evans, in the preface to his edition of the *Bruts* (p. xxiv), speaks of "O Oes Gwrtheyrn" as a "worthless compilation". In the form in which it has reached us, the tract is no doubt full of copyists' blunders, and for exact chronology is of very little service. But an examination of Mr. Evans's text has convinced me that the student of Welsh history cannot afford entirely to disregard it. Let me give an instance of what I mean. It is said (p. 406) that in the

I pass over the second exile of Ælfgar, followed by a second restoration with the aid of Gruffydd and Magnus, son of Harold Hardrada of Norway,[1] and come to the fatal year 1063, which saw the end of Gruffydd's triumphant career. It has been supposed that the Welsh chronicles assign this event to the year 1061, but, though they appear to do so, it is clear that we have only to do with a mistake of the copyists, and that 1063 is the year really intended.[2] The campaign commenced with the vain attempt of Harold to capture Gruffydd in his royal vill of Rhuddlan; the story is interesting as incidentally

year after that of the proclamation of the interdict, and before that of John's visit to Ireland, *i.e.*, in 1209, Llywelyn ab Iorwerth and Hywel ap Gruffydd went with the king to "ruuein" to subdue the ruler of that country. As it stands, this is nonsense, but, remembering that 1209 was the year of John's Scotch expedition, we read "pridein" for "ruuein", and at once get something intelligible. What is more, the statement (found nowhere else, I believe) is confirmed by independent evidence, for in the Misæ Roll of the 11th year of John, entries appear to the following effect—

"Thursday, July 30th—(at Newcastle) 3½ marks given by the king to the seven 'busynatoribus' (=trumpeters, from O. Fr. busine?) of Llywelyn the Welshman to buy clothes."

"Tuesday, Aug. 4th—£19 2*s.* 5*d.* given by the king at Norham in quittance of Llywelyn's wages; paid to his clerk 'Osturco'."

A day or two later—"20 marks, Llywelyn's expenses for one day, paid by order of the king to 'Weno' his seneschal, and 'Osturc' his clerk."

See the edition of the Roll issued by T. D. Hardy in 1844.

[1] Plummer's *Chronicles*, ii, 246. I do not hesitate to connect the expedition of Magnus spoken of by the Welsh authorities with the Norwegian fleet referred to by the English annalists under the year 1058.

[2] Both *Brenhinoedd y Saeson* and MS. C. of *Brut y Tywysogion* (Ab Ithel's edition, p. 44) prefix to the year of Gruffydd's death the figure 1061, but both say of the succeeding year that it was the first of the nineteen years' cycle, *i.e.*, it was 1064.

revealing to us the existence in the estuary of the Clwyd of a little fleet.[1] No doubt it was wise and almost necessary that Gruffydd should secure his hold upon Wales in this way, but sea power is a weapon Welsh princes have very rarely sought to wield, and in most cases, when they needed the help of ships, it was their custom to look to Ireland, to the Ostmen of Dublin, Waterford, and Wexford, whose skill in sea-craft is matter of common knowledge. The course of the more elaborate operations which occupied the summer is not altogether clear, but it would seem that Harold gathered at Oxford[2] light armed troops, such as might easily penetrate into the dense Welsh forests, and, sailing with these from Bristol, met, perhaps in the neighbourhood of Anglesey,[3] his brother Tostig, who had come along the northern coast from his Northumbrian earldom with a body of horsemen. The united forces began systematically to ravage North Wales in a way not hitherto deemed possible; their mobility introduced an entirely new factor into the struggle between Welsh and English. Gruffydd was now reduced to great straits; his ally Ælfgar, earl of Mercia since 1057, was in all likelihood dead, for we hear nothing of him after 1062, and it is most probable that the English government took the opportunity of his removal to embark on an enterprise which stood little chance of success in his lifetime. Ac-

[1] "His scipa and alle tha gewæda the thær to gebyrede"—MS. D. of the *English Chronicle*; "naves ejus cum armamentis"—Flor. Wig. (*Mon. Hist. Brit.*, p. 611). Vessels of seven tons' burthen have always been able to reach Rhuddlan bridge (Lewis, *Topographical Dictionary*, s. v. Rhuddlan).

[2] "Harold del suth de Oxenford" (*Gaimar*, v. 5076—Rolls ed. i, 215).

[3] John of Salisbury says (*Polycraticus*, vi, 6) that Harold reached Snowdon—"nivium itaque collem ingressus, vastavit omnia". "Nivicollini Britones" is a name he affects for the men of Gwynedd.

cording to the Norman poet, Geoffrey Gaimar, the defection of the South was also added to Gruffydd's misfortunes—"the South Welsh", he says, "fought against Gruffydd and overcame his people".[1] Remembering the early history of the reign, we may regard this as most probable, and it may not be amiss to lend an ear for once to that most treacherous of guides, the *Brut of Aber Pergwm*, when it tells us that the men of Morgannwg and Gwent sided with Harold against Gruffydd in this contest.[2] On the 5th of August, 1063, he was slain by his own men, whose conduct in sending their chieftain's head to Harold suggests that this was the stipulated price of peace. Welsh tradition avers that one Madog Min procured the doing of the deed, and tells with glee how Harold refused him the promised reward of his treachery —the value of three hundred head of cattle—and how soon after he was drowned on his way to Dublin.[3] Thus fell, in the language of *Brut y Tywysogion*, "the head and shield and protector of the Britons"; thus ended a career as remarkable as any recorded in Welsh history, and, I venture to think, as fruitful in results.

When, at the end of the reign of William I, a comprehensive survey was taken by the government of the state of England, regarded as a taxable area, the jurors were required to state how in each holding matters stood "tempore regis Edwardi", *i.e.*, at the beginning of the year 1066. An examination of the entries which deal with the manors on the Welsh border will show that in that year a belt of waste country, almost certainly de-

[1] "Li Suthwaleis se combatirent
Contre Griffin, sa gent venquirent"
(Vv. 5079-80).

[2] *Myvyrian Archaiology*, Denbigh edit., p. 696.

[3] *Iolo MSS.*, p. 198.

populated by Gruffydd ap Llywelyn, still separated England and Wales. Manor after manor is entered as "waste", an expression which in the Survey denotes not so much the absence of population or any actual devastation as the absence of capital with which to work the land—the want of the oxen of the plough-team, without which the acre strips are valueless. The waste vills for the most part bear English names, and were no doubt at one time inhabited by English settlers, formed part of English shires and hundreds, and yielded an income to English kings, earls, and thegns. Gruffydd had, however, made them uninhabitable, or had seized them for himself; in some of them the land has been tilled by Welshmen ever since. Beginning with the Cheshire border, I may remark that the twenty hides which formed the original hundred of Atiscros[1] were in 1066, and long afterwards, an integral part of the shire, and that only a few of them are entered as "waste". They lay along the estuary of the Dee from Bagillt to the gates of Chester, backed by a great forest, fifteen miles long and four and a half broad,[2] of which the memory is still preserved in such names as Cefn y Coed, Coed y Cra, Ty'nycoed, and Coed Ewlo. The freeman Edwin who held Cownsillt and Kelsterton is believed by some[3] to be the father of Owain and Uchtryd ab Edwin, the man whom the heralds call "king of Tegeingl", but,

[1] The Survey speaks of them as twenty (harum xxti hidarum omnes siluas), but I can only make up 19½, even reckoning in the ¾ of Wepre mentioned elsewhere. Readers of Mr. Round's *Feudal England* will, however, not forget the significance of the round number (see especially pp. 44-69). A fragment of the cross of Ati, which marked, no doubt, the meeting-place of the hundred, was still to be seen in the days of Pennant (*Tours*, 1810, i, 71).

[2] The *Domesday* league was of twelve furlongs (Maitland, *Domesday and Beyond*, p. 371).

[3] *E.g.*, Mr. H. Taylor in his *Historic Notices of Flint* (1883), p. 10.

apart from this, there is nothing to suggest that the district was not as English as Kent itself. To the north, however, in the hundred of Englefeld, matters were on a different footing. Offa's Dyke ran through the district, and east of the Dyke the vill-names are purely English—Preston, Moston, Picton, Westbury (now Gwesbyr), Whitford, Fulbrook (our Greenfield), Merton, and Caldicot.[1] But "Earl Hugh", says the Survey, "holds Rhuddlan of the king. There in king Edward's time lay Englefeld—it was altogether waste—Earl Edwin held it. When Earl Hugh received it, it was likewise waste". Rhuddlan, only a few miles distant from the ancient frontier, had been held by Gruffydd with so firm a grip as to be a naval base and a principal residence of his; though the Welsh no doubt lost their hold of the district in 1063, it was still yielding nothing when Earl Hugh set on foot the process of re-settlement. In the valley of the Alun, the same tale is told; Bishopstree (Biscopestreu), our Bistre, once an English settlement, as its name shows, was a manor of King Gruffydd's, where his men brought him a fixed render of provisions; in 1066 it was held by Earl Edwin, but was waste, and so when it came into the hands of Earl Hugh.

From Hope to Erbistock stretched the hundred of Exestan, another twenty-hide district,[2] roughly represented in later times by Maelor Gymraeg. It lay east of Offa's Dyke, and every vill mentioned in *Domesday* as belonging to it bore an English name. That it was settled by the English long before Gruffydd's day, is shown by the

[1] In the Survey, Prestetone, Mostone, Pichetone, Wesb(er)ie, Widford, Folebroc, Meretone, Caldecote. For the situation of Fulbrook, see Mr. Edward Owen's *Catalogue of Welsh MSS. in the British Museum*, p. 77.

[2] The hides were distributed as follows—Hope, 1; Odeslei, ½; Eitune, 1; Sudtone, 1; Erpestoch, ½; Alentune, 3; Gretford, 13.

grant of Hodeshlith (now Hoseley, near Gresford) to the church of St. Werburgh in Chester in 958.[1] But here also Gruffydd had been at work, so that at King Edward's death the whole hundred was waste, save a few hides on the west bank of the Dee. We are, in fact, told that the king gave Gruffydd all the land which lay across the water called Dee—a recognition, no doubt, as Mr. Palmer and others[2] have pointed out, of conquests made by the Welsh prince in this quarter—and, though the notice goes on to say that, when Gruffydd rebelled, the grant was withdrawn, this, I suspect, did not happen until 1063, for the country was still for the most part untenanted three years later.

We pass to Shropshire. The region around Oswestry (which is not mentioned, at least under that name, in the Survey) formed the hundred of the Mersete, of which Meresbury, now Maesbury, was the head. It was bounded on the west by Offa's Dyke, and was purely English. Yet nearly all of it is entered as waste under king Edward; this was the plight of Maesbury itself, of the large royal manor of Whittington, of Halston, West Felton, Osbaston, Kynaston, Maesbrook, and Melverley.[3] South of the last named place stretched the border hundreds of "Ruesset" and Whittingtree;[4] their vills were for the most part to the east of the Breiddin and Cefn Digoll, and appear to have suffered little; but those which lay along the course

[1] Birch, *Cartularium Saxonicum*, iii, 245-6.

[2] *Ancient Tenures of Land* (1885), p. 86.

[3] Meresberie, Wititone (18 hides), Halstune, Feltone, Sbernestune, Chimerestun, Meresbroc, Meleurlei. "Hæc duo maneria wasta fuerunt", says the scribe at one point in the list, "*ut multa alia*". Mr. Palmer had drawn the moral for the Oswestry district in vol. x of *Y Cymmrodor*, p. 39.

[4] The "Witentreu" of *Domesday* survives in the name of Whittre Bdrige, near Chirbury.

of Offa's Dyke, from Edderton, near Forden, to Edenhope, near Bishop's Castle, are all said to have been waste under king Edward. The spot soon to be known as Montgomery stood in a great wilderness, which yielded no revenue to the king, and had been granted by him to three thegns for hunting purposes. It is surely not fanciful to see here an abiding result of Gruffydd's victory at Rhyd y Groes.

In the hundred of "Rinlau", which lay east of Clun, there is little evidence of disturbance; the dyke was here, as elsewhere, the ancient boundary, and appears not to have been crossed. But in the hundred of Leintwardine, which took in both sides of the Teme Valley, the phenomena familiar to us from our survey of the North Welsh border show themselves once more. Waterdine, Knighton, Ack Hill, Stanage, Norton, Brampton Bryan, Pedwardine, Bucknall,[1] were all reckoned members of this hundred, and all were waste in Edward's day, remaining so in many cases down to the time of the Survey itself.

And now we come to Herefordshire, the scene of Gruffydd's most triumphant excursions into English territory.[2] We shall expect to find here conclusive evidence of his activity, and the record does not disappoint us. For here the belt of waste manors is many miles broad, embracing many vills which are now in Radnorshire, but were included in those days in the Herefordshire hundreds of Hezetre and Elsdon. I will only mention some of the

[1] Watredene, Chenistetone, Achel, Stanege, Nortune, Brantune, Pedewrde, Buchehalle. Ack Hill is about a mile S.W. of Norton. The inclusion in this hundred and in Shropshire of the half-hide held by Osbern fitz Richard at Cascop is probably a mistake: see the Herefordshire Survey.

[2] For the early history of the Herefordshire border, see an article by R. W. Banks in *Archæologia Cambrensis*, fourth series, vol. xiii (1882).

more notable—Radnor, Whitney, Eardisley, Huntington, Kington, Pilleth, Cascob, Discoed, Titley, Knill, Willersley, Winforton.[1] Radnor was a large manor of fifteen hides, capable of giving employment to thirty plough-teams; it had in all likelihood been English soil for many generations when Gruffydd laid his hand upon it. Even in 1086, at the date of the Survey, the mischief hereabouts had not been repaired, and, though the deserted manors were in many cases the property of King William, all he got from them was £15 a year paid by William fitz Norman for the profits of the great forest in which they lay.[2]

Crossing into the portion of Herefordshire which lies south of the Wye, we come to the sphere of operations in 1055 and 1056. It would seem as if hardly any part of this district had escaped the hand of the spoiler. Two of the manors belonging to the bishop of Hereford on the south bank of the Wye, viz., Preston and Tiberton, appear as waste in 1066; such is the entry also opposite almost every manor in the Golden Valley, more correctly called the Valley of the Dore,[3] while of Archenfield, which was enclosed by the Wye, the Monnow, and the Worm, it is said in express terms that "king Gruffydd and Bleddyn [his immediate successor] ravaged this land in the time of King Edward, and therefore its value at that time is unknown".[4] Archenfield differed from the districts through which we have hitherto been travelling

[1] In the hundred of "Hezetre", Raddrenove, Pelelei, Cascope, Discote; in the hundred of "Elsedune", Witenie, Herdeslege, Hantinetune, Chingtune, Titelege, Chenille, Willaveslege, Widferdestune.

[2] "Rex habet in Herefordscire ix maneria wasta de xix hidis. De forestis quas tenet Willelmus filius Normanni reddit xv libras regi."

[3] See note 2, p. 134.

[4] See note 1, p. 134.

in being a thoroughly Welsh district which had at some time or other been annexed bodily to Herefordshire without thereby losing its Welsh characteristics. The story of the three churches which the king had there, and of the employment of their priests as the king's envoys into Wales, is well known: Mr. Seebohm has drawn attention, too, to the specially Welsh character of the renders of these Archenfield tenants—the sextars of honey, with small money payments.[1] Let me add that this view of the position of Archenfield is entirely borne out by the *Book of Llandaff*, where a list is given of the churches of the region at this period, each bearing a Welsh name, and of the Welsh clergy who served them, and the Welsh proprietors who paid the tithes.[2] We even find the "Cadiand", who in *Domesday* is said to have been the holder of Kilpeck in the time of king Edward, entered as a proprietor of that parish in the *Book of Llandaff* in the more intelligible form of "Catgen du".[3]

South of Monmouth, the sinuous course of the Wye was the ancient boundary between Welsh and English, and it does not appear to have been crossed by Gruffydd. *Domesday* bears witness, nevertheless, to his presence and power in Gwent. Six Welshmen (the record runs) hold nine vills in this district without paying any dues, for Earl William of Hereford granted them, with the king's concurrence, on the same easy terms as had been imposed by king Gruffydd: among these tenants are Berddig, styled

[1] *English Village Community*, 1883, p. 207.

[2] *Liber Landavensis* (ed. Evans and Rhys), pp. 275-8. According to Mr. Evans, the portion of the book containing this matter was written about 1170.

[3] The ancient name of Kilpeck is Cilpedec, a form which, if it had survived into modern Welsh, would probably now be Cil Peddeg. Hence the *Domesday* Chipeete, the t being a mistake for c and ch (as usual) representing a hard c.

the king's minstrel, and Abraham, archdeacon of Gwent, both of whom appear in connection with the district in the *Book of Llandaff*.[1] Gwent and Morgannwg were probably the last of the regions of Wales to acknowledge the power of the North Welsh prince, retaining their ancient line of princes until a few years before Gruffydd's death. Hywel ab Owain, king of Morgannwg, died at a great age in 1043; his place was taken by his son, Meurig ap Hywel, who had already, owing to his father's infirmities, for some time been actual ruler. Meurig annexed Gwent Iscoed or Nether Went to his kingdom of Glamorgan, and apparently made his son Cadwgan under king of the new

[1] "Berdic ioculator regis habet iii villas et ibi v carucas; nil reddit. Morinus i uillam, Chenesis i, filius Wasuuic i, Sessisbert i, Abraham presbiter ii uillas. Hi habent vi carucas et nichil reddunt. Hos misit Willelmus comes ad consuetudinem Grifin regis licentia regis Willelmi" (Gloucestershire Survey, under the heading "Castellum de Estrighoiel"). "Berdic guent" (one word in the MS.) attests, as a layman, three grants entered in the *Book of Llandaff*. The first (pp. 269-70) is a "privilegium" or general confirmation granted to bishop Herwald at "ystum guy" by "Grifudi regis britannie et ut sic dicam totius gualie de fine ad finem"—a description which obviously fits no one but Gruffydd ap Llywelyn. The second (pp. 272-3) is a grant to the same bishop of a vill near Llan Degfedd (between Usk and Caerleon) made by "Caratocvs rex morcannuc", the Caradog ap Gruffydd who fell at Mynydd Carn in 1081. Great have been the pretensions put forth on behalf of the house of Iestyn ap Gwrgant; the bubble is pricked in a moment when we find "iestin filius gurcant" attesting this grant as the thirteenth and last but one of the lay witnesses. The third grant witnessed by Berddig is the gift (pp. 274-5) to Llan Daf of land near Llangwm, Monmouthshire, which one Caradog ap Rhiwallon bestowed "uerbo comitis herfordie et domini guenti Rogerii filii Willelmi filii Osberni", *i.e.*, between 1071 and 1075. In the Latin versions of the Welsh laws "cerddorion" is regularly translated "ioculatores", the foreigner having no proper sense of the dignified position of the bardic order, and "ioculator regis" probably stands for "bardd teulu". Of the grants above referred to, "Abraham archidiaconus guenti" attests the first and the third.

province. He died about 1060, and it was then, apparently, that Gruffydd seized the whole realm, to the exclusion of Cadwgan.[1]

I must now deal briefly with one or two aspects of the Norman attack on Wales which are of special interest. Harold's campaign against Gruffydd, while not at all deserving to be styled a conquest of Wales, had nevertheless the effect of disposing of the Welsh peril: as Gaimar says, men took no further heed of Wales.[2] It was divided once more among a number of chieftains; Bleddyn and Rhiwallon, half brothers of the fallen prince, ruled in the north; Maredudd and Rhys ab Owain, nephews of Hywel ab Edwin, appeared at the head of the men of Deheubarth; while Cadwgan ap Meurig established himself in his

[1] For the death of Hywel ab Owain, see MS. B of *Annales Cambriæ*, *Brenhinoedd y Saeson* and *Brut y Tywysogion* ("brenhin gwlat vorgan yny heneint"). That his son Meurig had assumed some kind of authority before his father's death appears from *Lib. Land.*, p. 257: "de laicis: mouricus rex et hiugel pater suus". The document thus attested records how Meurig, after entering into a solemn treaty with Edwin ap Gwriad, king of "Gueniscoit", seized and blinded him so that he died. Due amends was made to the church for the violated oath, but Gwent ceased to be an independent kingdom. True it is that we find (on p. 261) a "catgucaun regis guenti" giving his consent to a grant of land at Llanbedr, near Kemeys Inferior, but I infer from the fact that the donor, Caradog ap Rhiwallon, was "unus de comitibus mourici regis morcanhuc," that this was none other than Meurig's son, who appears as king of Morgannwg after the Norman Conquest. Meurig joined in the election of Herwald, which took place not later than 1059 (*Lib. Land.*, p. 266), but does not appear in connection with any grant made in the time of that prelate.

[2] "Vnc puis de Waleis nout reguard" (v. 5084—Rolls edit., i, 215). The work of Harold, while able enough from a military point of view, and remembered with a certain pride by Englishmen for many generations, only restored what had been the state of things before the rise of Gruffydd. This is shown by Caradog ap Gruffydd's raid of 1065 upon Portskewet, no less than by the condition of the border in 1066 as revealed in *Domesday*.

father's realm of Morgannwg.[1] Such was the position of affairs when William took possession of the English crown. I need not remind you that the victory of Hastings and the coronation at Westminster were but the prelude to an obstinate struggle which extended over several years, and that it was not until early in 1070 that the conquest of England was in any proper sense complete. This is the year, accordingly, in which the conquest of Wales may be deemed to begin. A few words may well be said, however, ere we enter upon this part of the subject, as to the short-lived schemes of William fitz Osbern.

No one would hesitate to say that, in the long run, South Wales became much more Normanized than the North. Yet the salient feature of the quarter of a century which follows the accession of William is the rapid progress made by the Normans in North Wales compared with their sluggish rate of movement in the South. The

[1] Cadwgan first appears in the *Book of Llandaff* in connection with a grant made by his father Meurig to bishop Joseph, who died at Aosta (Agustan), "in uia sancti petri apostoli", in 1045 (*Lib. Land.*, p. 252, *Annales Cambriæ* and *Bruts*). The king enjoins his sons "catguocaun et ris" to respect his donation, when he is no more (*Lib. Land.*, p. 260). Next comes (p. 261) the grant made to the same prelate by Caradog ap Rhiwallon, and already referred to in note 1, p. 144, a grant in which Cadwgan concurs as king of Gwent. On pp. 267-268 is an account of an attack made upon a relative of bishop Herwald's ("berthutis nomine . . et medicum totius patrie") by the drunken "teulu" of "catgucauni regis morcannuc filii mourici", who gave to the church of Llan Daf in atonement some land not very far from the cathedral. This, I am inclined to think, happened after the fall of Gruffydd ap Llywelyn, for we are expressly told on pp. 278-9 that Cadwgan ruled over "glat morcant usque ad uadum trunci super tyuui" under William I, in whose reign he died. He was probably the "Caducan" whom Ordericus Vitalis mentions among the Welsh kings overcome by William fitz Osbern (iv, 7—see ii, 219 of edit. of Le Prevost), and with his death (about 1075?) the old line of Morgannwg, descendants of the Hywel ap Rhys of Asser, in all likelihood came to an end.

contrast is brought out vividly when we remember that at the time of the *Domesday* Survey the most advanced Norman post on the northern coast was at Degannwy, while on the shores of the Bristol Channel it was no farther than Caerleon. Later history shows that this was a reversal of the natural order, due to accidental causes, and, chief among these, to the death of William fitz Osbern and the ruin of his son Roger. William became earl of Hereford at the beginning of 1067;[1] he left England, never to return, at the end of 1070; yet, short as was his four years' tenure of the earldom, and frequent as were his absences from the county upon errands of moment entrusted to him by the king, he contrived to leave his mark upon the Welsh border. Ordericus Vitalis speaks of him as an active opponent of the Welsh, whose kings, by name Rhys, Cadwgan and Maredudd, he overthrew. Among others, he waged war with the "Brachaniaunos", the men of Brycheiniog, who probably acknowledged the authority of Maredudd and Rhys ab Owain.[2] These assertions find full confirmation in *Domesday*. From the Herefordshire Survey we learn that William built "Wigemore" castle in a waste tenement called "Merestun"; it is to him, also, we are, no doubt, to attribute the "burgum" established there—a border settlement of traders. Earl William, again, built the castle at Clifford,

[1] *Florence of Worcester.*

[2] *Ordericus Vitalis*, iv, 7. Ab Ithel's edition of *Brut y Tywysogion*, following in its chronology *Brenhinoedd y Saeson* (see preface), gives 1070 as the year of the fall of Maredudd ab Owain in battle with Caradog ap Gruffydd and the "French". It was, therefore, natural for Mr. Freeman to see in the incident the hand of Earl William. But the year must, I think, be 1072, and I am inclined to believe that, after one or two encounters, Maredudd and the earl had some years ere this come to that understanding of which the outward symbol was the grant of Ley.

where there was also a "burgum", with sixteen burgesses. Of "Castellum Ewias" (Ewias Harold) it is only said that the earl *re*-built it; this fits in well with Mr. Round's conjecture[1] that we have in it the "Pentecost's castle" of the days of Godwin. The Survey says nothing of the foundation of Monmouth Castle, but this omission is made good by the *Book of Llandaff*, which tells us it was raised in the time of Earl William, who gave half of it to three of his barons.[2] Lastly, the Gloucestershire Survey informs us that it was earl William who built the castle of "Estrighoiel", at the spot now best known by its old English name of Chepstow, the place of traffic. The building of this line of border fortresses reveals a set policy of conquest; we may connect it with what William of Malmesbury tells us of the earl, how his liberality to his retainers drew a great multitude of knights around him, which made him a power in his district, but did not altogether please the thrifty king.[3] It was no doubt a part of the same policy of aggression that in some cases he appears to have taken pains to conciliate the Welsh. Vills in Gwent that had been let rent free by King Gruffydd he granted to the holders on the same terms;[4] from the Herefordshire Survey we find that he granted to King Maredudd ab Owain the vill of Ley (near Lingen), and, moreover, obtained from king William the entire remission of the geld—a privilege afterwards extended to Maredudd's son, Gruffydd.[5] These measures point to a far-

[1] *Feudal England*, p. 324.

[2] *Lib. Land.*, pp. 277-8 ("Castellum de mingui").

[3] *Gesta Regum*, bk. iii, § 256.

[4] See p. 144, above.

[5] See Terra Grifin filii Mariadoc. Gruffydd was killed at Llan Dudoch, near Cardigan, in 1091, in an attempt to deprive Rhys ap Tewdwr of the crown of Deheubarth (*Annales* and *Bruts*). "Inuitauerunt" implies that he was an exile.

reaching scheme for the conquest of South Wales, but all came to nothing when William, in February 1071, was killed in a skirmish in Flanders. His second son Roger inherited his earldom and English estates, but these were staked and lost in a few years in a desperate struggle against the Conqueror's iron rule, and no other baron was allowed to step into the position which had been thus abused. The *Book of Llandaff* gives us to understand that many lesser figures were involved in the fall of Roger;[1] it is easy to see that the sudden change of *personnel* along the South Welsh border must have had a paralyzing effect upon the Norman advance, which is not resumed for some ten or twelve years. The one Welsh achievement of the house of Breteuil was the conquest of Gwent, over which no Welsh prince ever again bore rule.

Let me now briefly trace the progress of the Normans along the coast of North Wales. I think it has not been generally realised how rapid and effective this movement was during the reigns of the first two Williams, how narrowly Gwynedd escaped entire subjection to Norman rule. The base of operations was Chester, where in 1071 Hugh of Avranches was established as earl, with an authority little short of regal over the whole county. He probably had no difficulty in securing possession of the manors of Coleshill, Hawarden, and Bistre, where we find him in possession some years later;[2] the extension of his borders to the Clwyd was a more difficult task, which he entrusted to his cousin Robert, one of the Confessor's favourites. Robert

[1] "Illi tres cum multis aliis exhereditati sunt" (p. 278).

[2] In 1093 Hugh assigned to the abbey of St. Werburgh at Chester the tithes of his manors of "Haurdina", "Coleshul", and "Bissopestred" (*Monasticon Angl.*, ed. 1819, ii, p. 386). "Coleselt" and "Biscopestreu" were in 1086 in the hands of sub-tenants, but "Hugo comes tenet in dominio Haordine . . in dominio sunt ii carucæ et iiii serui".

entered about 1073 upon his long struggle with the Welsh, and had in a year or two made himself master of the place from which he was henceforth known as Robert of Rhuddlan.[1] His epitaph recounts how at this stage of the conflict, by a well-planned ambuscade, he surprised King Bleddyn, seized very valuable booty, and almost obtained possession of the person of the king himself.[2] This must have been shortly before 1075, the year of Bleddyn's death. His antagonist during the next six years was Trahaearn ap Caradog, hereditary prince of the cantref of Arwystli—the region round Llan Idloes and Llan Dinam—who had contrived to make himself ruler of Gwynedd, by what methods and in virtue of what claims it is not very easy to say. Against him the contest was waged with much success.[3] Robert's forces crept steadily along the coast, possessed themselves of the cantref of Rhos, which lay between the Elwy, the Conway, and the sea, and about 1080 raised, on a hillock which commands the estuary of the latter river and was the site of a royal stronghold in the time of Maelgwn Gwynedd, the first Norman castle of Degannwy.[4] The process of dislodging Trahaearn was rendered easier by the appearance of a rival claimant of the crown; in 1075 Gruffydd ap Cynan ap Iago, grandson

[1] "Per xv annos [1073-1088] intolerabiliter Britones protrivit" (*Ordericus Vitalis*, viii, 3—ed. Le Prevost, vol. iii, p. 284).

[2] "Præcipuam, pulchro Blideno rege fugato,
Prædam cum paucis cepit in insidiis." (*Ibid.*, p. 288.)
The notes of Le Prevost hereabouts must not be taken too seriously.

[3] "Vicitque Trehellum" (*Ibid.*).

[4] Degannwy is the "arcem detantorum" (read "decantorum") of the oldest MS. of *Annales Cambriæ* (*Y Cymmrodor*, ix, 164). It is not mentioned in *Domesday*, being covered by the reference to "Ros", for Creuddyn was a cymwd of Rhos (so all the lists) and was not separated from the rest of the cantref until the time of Edward I.

of the Iago whom Gruffydd ap Llywelyn succeeded in 1039, came over from Ireland with the intention of recovering the lost patrimony of his house. We have for the career of Gruffydd ap Cynan evidence of a kind which is unusual in Welsh history, namely, a life which, though not strictly contemporary, was certainly written in the days of Gruffydd's son Owain Gwynedd, and appears to me to be of considerable historical value.[1] There are, no doubt, a number of minor errors, and many of the statements in the narrative of Gruffydd's early achievements are not to be implicitly trusted. Yet the *Life* seems to me for the most part a fairly trustworthy document, supplying many details which are not to be found in any other source; for instance, the name of the daughter of Brian Boru (given as "Alam") who married Sitric of Dublin. It is known to all that Gruffydd ap Cynan was born in Ireland of an Irish mother, and spent his youth in that country, until the time came for him to claim his due in Gwynedd. What has not been understood, I think, is that it was not

[1] "Historia hen gruffud vab kenan vab yago" was printed by the Rev. Robert Williams of Rhyd y Croesau in *Archæologia Cambrensis* for 1866 (3rd ser., vol. xii) from Hengwrt MS. 406 (now Peniarth MS. 17) of the middle of the thirteenth century, what was wanting at the end of this MS. being supplied from a later copy. It had previously been printed from another MS., under the name of "Buchedd Gruffydd ap Cynan", in the Myvyrian collection. A doubt may arise whether the life was not originally written in Latin, but that substantially what we have was put together before 1170 I feel certain. See, especially, the reference to the reigning kings of Waterford—"Ac un oe vroder a ossodes yn un or dinassoed a adeilassei er hon a elwit yn eu hyeith hwy porthlarg (the 'Port Lairge' of the Irish annalists) ae etived enteu a vuant vrenhined y dinas hwnw er henne hyt hediw" (p. 32). Mr. Gwenogvryn Evans gives in his *Report* upon the Peniarth MSS. (p. 339) the opening sentences of the *Historia:* his text suggests that absolute fidelity to the original must not be counted upon in that of the Rev. Robert Williams.

with the native Irish of Celtic blood, but with the Ostmen of Dublin, the Scandinavian settlers around the mouth of the Liffey, that he was connected. According to the *Life*, his mother was "Ragnell" (or Radnall), daughter of Anlaf, a son of Sitric of the Silken Beard, the king of Dublin, who abdicated in 1035, and died in 1042.[1] He was born in Dublin, in or about the year 1055, when Gruffydd ap Llywelyn was at the height of his power in Wales, and Cynan ab Iago, hopeless of making any headway against him, had probably settled down as an Irish proprietor.[2] He was brought up at Swords, some ten miles from the

[1] I have not been able to identify all the names in Gruffydd's maternal pedigree, but within certain limits there is no difficulty in fitting them in with what we know of Irish history. "Ragnell" (it is also spelt "Raonell") would seem to bear the name which occurs as "Radnall" among the Waterford Danes (Todd's *War of the Gaedhil with the Gaill*, p. 290). Her mother was "[m]ayl corcre" (for this as an Irish female name see *Ibid.*, p. 265), daughter of "dimlug m. tethel", king of Leinster, *i.e.*, Dunlaing son of Tuathal, who died in 1014 (*Chron. Scotorum*). Her father was probably the Anlaf son of Sitric, who was killed in 1012 (*Annals of Ulster*), and she would seem to have had as first husband a Mathghamhain of Ulster. The account of Sitric of the Silken Beard and of Anlaf Cuaran (to whom should be assigned the position and achievements here set down to the credit of his obscure grandson) appears to be in the main correct; "urien" is Brian Boru, "gurmlach" is Gormlaith, and "dimchath" her son Donnchadh. For "hwnnw" in line 5 of page 33 read "honno", and for "vab" in line 8, "vraut". Beyond the elder Sitric we get into the region of genealogical romance.

[2] "Dwy flynedd a phetwar ugeint oedd Ruffudd", says the *Historia* (p. 128), when he died in 1137. It follows from this that Cynan survived his father at least fifteen years, and may well have been concerned in some of the attacks upon the power of Gruffydd ap Llywelyn. But I know of no good authority for the statements of Powel (ed. 1811, pp. 70, 71) associating him specifically with the events of 1042 and 1052. The *Historia* implies that he died when his son was of tender age—("managei y vam idaw beunyd pwy a pha ryw wr oed y dat a pha dref tat oed idaw", p. 34), and, had he survived his rival's fall in 1063, I think we should have heard of him.

place of his birth, the seat of an ancient monastery which was included within the bounds of the Danish kingdom of Dublin.[1] In any enquiry, therefore, into the effect of Gruffydd's upbringing upon his later rule of Gwynedd, it is to be remembered that the early influences which moulded his character were not purely Celtic, but to a large extent Scandinavian. Despite the help which was given to him by Robert of Rhuddlan, Gruffydd did not succeed in establishing his claim to the crown of Gwynedd until 1081.[2] This was the year of the famous battle of Mynydd Carn, fought (there can be little doubt) in South Cardiganshire,[3] where the two representatives of the ancient dynasties of North and South, Gruffydd ap Cynan and Rhys ap Tewdwr, overcame and slew the upstart princes, Trahaearn ap Caradog and Caradog ap Gruffydd, who had kept them out of their own. The *Life* gives a vivid description of the fight and the varied equipment of

[1] "Y lle aelwir yg gwydelec swrth colomcell" (p. 30). "Sord Coluim Cille" is spoken of by the *Annals of Loch Cé* (s. a. 1035) in such a way as to show it was within the realm of Sitric of the Silken Beard. Cf. Haliday, *Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin*, p. 142.

[2] MS. C of *Annales Cambriæ* speaks of Gruffydd on his first appearance as "Grifud nepos iacob", and thus, I think, clearly shows its character as derived from a contemporary record. A few years later, no one would have dreamt of calling him anything but Gruffydd ap Cynan; in 1075, however, nothing was known in Wales of Cynan, and it was as Iago's grandson this young man of twenty claimed the Venedotian crown. This entry well illustrates the relations between the Latin chronicle represented by the *Annales Cambriæ* and the two independent Welsh versions of it known as *Brut y Tywysogion* and *Brenhinoedd y Saeson*. MS. C (Dom. i, fo. 143a) has "Grifud autem nepos iacob non obsedit", non being a blunder of this copy for Mon. *Brut y Tywysogion* translates this notice intelligently—"Ac yna ydymladawd grufud uab kynan wyr Iago a mon" (*Bruts*, ed. Rhys and Evans, p. 269). *Brenhinoedd y Saeson* (Cleop. B. v, fo. 132a) has "Grufud hagen nei James a oed yn gwarchadw manaw"!

[3] Note by Mr. Egerton Phillimore in *Y Cymmrodor*, xi, 167.

the forces engaged; the Danes wielded two-edged axes, the Irish flourished darts and spiked balls of iron, the men of Gwynedd fought with shield and glaive.[1] Gruffydd's victory was complete, but he did not long enjoy the fruits of it, for shortly afterwards he was taken prisoner at Rug in Edeyrnion, and handed over to Earl Hugh, in whose dungeons he languished for many years.[2] It is only in the *Life* we get any account of this imprisonment, but the story is confirmed by the epitaph of Robert of Rhuddlan, as given by Ordericus, and, in harmony with it, *Domesday* shows that in 1086 Edeyrnion was in the hands of the Normans.[3]

The great Survey shows clearly the posture of affairs in this part of the country at the time it was undertaken. Not only the hundred of Atiscros, referred to above,[4] but also Rhuddlan and what is now North Flintshire were in the hands of Earl Hugh of Chester, though Robert of Rhuddlan held a considerable portion as sub-tenant. Hugh and Robert divided between them the custody of the castle of Rhuddlan, the patronage of the church, and

[1] "Gwyr denmarc ac eu bwyeill deuvinyauc ar guydyl gaflachauc ac eu peleu haearnaul kyllellauc ar gwyndyt gleivyauc tareanauc" (p. 44). The great axe was a specially Danish weapon (*Social England*, i, 183). For the Irish suist or war flail, from which hung iron balls attached to chains, see O'Curry's *Manners and Customs of the Irish*, ed. Sullivan, i, p. 462-3.

[2] The *Historia* says "deudeng blyned" in one place and "un vlyned ar bemthec" in another, two figures which as xii and xvi would be easily confused. The difficulty as to the mention of Gruffydd in connection with the death of Robert of Rhuddlan in 1088 still remains.

[3] "Cepit Grithfridum regem," says the epitaph. According to the Shropshire Survey, Rainald the sheriff had "in Walis duos fines Chenlei et Derniou" (*i.e.*, Cynllaith and Edeyrnion). Earl Hugh held the neighbouring district of "Gal" (Yale).

[4] See p. 139, above.

the profits of mills, mines, fisheries, and markets—a list which shows that the region was no longer a desert march. Beyond the Clwyd, Robert was independent lord: he held Rhos and Rhufoniog, the two Welsh cantrefs which lay between the Clwyd and the Conway, in fee of the king. Only a strip along the coast, some six miles wide, was under tillage; the rest, Robert averred, was but marsh and forest, and could not be brought under the plough; and, in view of the disturbed condition of the border, it is probable that the Survey commissioners accepted the statement without demur. Across the Conway, Robert was again in a new position: he held at a rent of £40 "Nortwales", *i.e.*, the principality of Gwynedd, save only such portions (viz., Rhos and Rhufoniog) as he already held in fee and the lands of the bishopric of Bangor.[1] Gruffydd ap Cynan was probably at the moment in the hands of Earl Hugh, and the Conqueror had apparently given the temporary charge of his dominions to Robert, until he could make a satisfactory permanent arrangement. From his fortress of Degannwy, Robert could exercise some control over the opposite coast, but he does not appear to have penetrated far into the wilds of Eryri, for his epitaph claims no more for him than that

> "Montem Svaudunum, fluviumque citum Colvenum
> Pluribus armatis transiliit vicibus."[2]

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[1] "Terras episcopatus" must refer to Bangor, where we find a bishop shortly afterwards. No bishop of St. Asaph occurs until 1143, and the Survey mentions "lanuuile" without reference even to a church. St. Asaph had, undoubtedly, been in earlier times (perhaps under Gruffydd ap Llywelyn) the seat of a bishop, but it was "pro vastitate et barbarie episcopo vacantem", to use the language of a writer of 1127 (*Historians of the Church of York*, ed. Raine, ii, 211).

[2] *Ord. Vit.*, viii, 3; in Le Prevost's edition, vol. iii, p. 288. "Colvenum" is, of course, the Conway.

One part of his grant of "Nortwales" was, he pointed out, in the hands of a brother baron: the hundred of "Arvester", *i.e.*, Arwystli, was on the showing of the Welsh an integral part of the principality, but had been seized by Earl Roger of Shrewsbury, who was apparently acting as grantee of the principality of Powys. This side-light on the history of Arwystli clearly shows how early the notion was (whatever its exact origin) that the cantref was no part of Powys, but an outlying member of Gwynedd, a notion which is reflected in its ecclesiastical relations. For until the rearrangement of 1859, the deanery of Arwystli was not only in the diocese of Bangor, but was separated from the rest of the diocese by an arm of the diocese of St. Asaph, which in fact completely hemmed it in on the northern side.[1]

Two years after the taking of the Survey, Robert of Rhuddlan was slain by the Welsh in a daring attack which they made upon his possessions in the Creuddyn peninsula. The dramatic story told by Ordericus Vitalis has been made familiar for us by the historian of the reign of William Rufus, and here I would only add that I do not think Mr. Freeman was right in believing that Ordericus confused the Great Orme ("montis Hormahevæ") with the hill of Degannwy itself.[2] The latter, as those who know the locality can bear witness, is by no means the kind of sheer cliff ("ardui montis præcipitium") likely to bring Norman warriors to a stand, nor would the Welsh have

[1] Arwystli acknowledged the authority of the bishop of Bangor in the middle of the twelfth century, for "Mauricius", bishop of Bangor from 1140 to 1161, confirms a grant made by Hywel ab Ieuaf (died 1185) of Arwystli, a great grandson of Trahaearn ap Caradog, to the church of Tref Eglwys, then held by the canons of Haughmond (*Archæologia Cambrensis*, third ser., vol. vi, p. 331).

[2] Freeman's *William Rufus*, vol. i, p. 125, note.

been so foolish as to ground their skiffs in a receding tide beneath the very walls of Robert's stronghold. I suggest that the landing was stealthily made in a cove on the north side of the Great Orme, beyond the ken of the watchers of Degannwy; that the cattle and captives seized were from the settlements on the tableland above, two of them known in later ages as Cyngreadur and Yr Wyddfid;[1] that Robert, rushing to the spot with a few poorly armed followers, was too late to save his property, because he had to cover a distance of three miles from Degannwy; and that the "difficult descent" which daunted all his followers save one, so that he met his death almost alone, was the line of beetling crags which towers above the sea near the ancient church of St. Tudno.

We owe the story of Robert's death to the accident that his brother was a monk of St. Evroul and interested Ordericus in the affair, getting him to compose a set of Latin verses to serve as an epitaph. It was, in fact, but an incident in the progress of the Normans—a momentary check which did not seriously delay their advance along the North Welsh coast. Forthwith, the place of the fallen leader was taken by Earl Hugh, who is said by Gaimar to have received from Rufus a grant of "Nort Wales",[2] in succession, we may suppose, to Robert, and who in any

[1] "Athutno ynghyngreadur" occurs in the Hafod MS. of "Bonedd y Saint" (*Myvyrian Archaiology*, Denbigh ed., p. 416). Gwalchmai refers to "gyngreawdyr fynyd" and its "gwenyg gwyn" in close connection with "Morfa Rianed" (*Ibid.*, p. 144). Dr. Owen Pughe, in ignorance of its character as a place-name, treated the word as a common noun, and sagely explained it as meaning "one who aggregates or collects together". Gwyddfid, or Yr Wyddfid, stood in the neighbourhood of the "Happy Valley"; both it and Cyngreadur appear in the *Record of Carnarvon* among the possessions of the bishop of Bangor (pp. 109-111, 235).

[2] l. 6043.

case acted for the next ten years as though Gwynedd had been delivered entirely into his hands. After the seizure of Gruffydd, the *Historia* tells us, the earl entered that prince's territories with a great host and built castles therein, one in Anglesey (at Aber Lleiniog), one in Arfon "in the old stronghold of the Emperor Constantine, son of Constans the Great" (*i.e.*, Carnarvon), one at Bangor, and one in Meirionydd.[1] There is other and better evidence of the extent of his power. In 1092 a Breton named Hervé was consecrated bishop of Bangor; he was a favourite of Rufus, and his subsequent history sufficiently shows that it was only with the help of Earl Hugh he had any prospect of being able to enjoy the revenues of the see. Pope Paschal II at a later date speaks of the circumstances under which he had seized the bishopric; "barbarously and stupidly promoted to a barbarous see" no doubt glances at the informalities of an election in which the cathedral clergy were either altogether ignored or coerced into a distasteful choice.[2] Again, in the year after this election, the earl re-modelled the abbey of St. Werburgh in his city of Chester, and added largely to its endowments. It is significant, not only of his expectations, but also of his actual achievements, that he should promise the monks two manors in Anglesey, one in Rhos, the tithe of the fisheries of Anglesey, and the right to have one ship, carrying ten nets, in the Anglesey fishing fleet.[3] As it chanced, this year marked the climax of Hugh's power in Wales, for in 1094 a revolt broke out among the Welsh which was the beginning of a reaction strong enough in a few years to drive the stranger back

[1] P. 114 of the *Archæologia Cambrensis* text.
[2] Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils*, etc., i, 299, 303-6.
[3] *Monasticon Anglicanum*, ii, 386.

across the Conway. The turn of the tide had come, and henceforward the Normans were no longer an aggressive power in North Wales.

In Powys, the period which is closed by the revolt of 1094 was, as in Gwynedd, marked by the progress of the Norman arms. The waste vills in the border hundreds were replenished with stock, and again furnished a revenue to royal and baronial holders. Many Welsh districts, among them Ial, Edeyrnion, Cynllaith, Maelor Saesneg, Cydewain, Ceri, and Arwystli, came under Norman authority and paid renders of money or kine in token of subjection.[1] Earl Roger of Shrewsbury claimed the same authority over Powys as was wielded by Earl Hugh in Gwynedd, and the theory that the princes of this region were subject to the lords of Salop survived the fall of the house of Montgomery, and had still some force when bishop Richard of London ruled the county as the representative of Henry I.[2]

In South Wales, on the other hand, little progress was made after the death of William fitz Osbern in 1071.

[1] "Terram de Gal" (Shropshire Survey) was no doubt claimed by Earl Roger as a part of Powys, but it adjoined the Cheshire hundred of Exestan, and Earl Hugh therefore found it convenient to hold it as sub-tenant. "Chenlei et Derniou" were held by Rainald the sheriff, as appendages to his great Oswestry holding. Both Eyton (*Shropshire*, xi, 31) and Palmer (*Y Cymmrodor*, x, 44) believe that the "Tuder quidam Walensis" who held of the Earl (Roger) a "finem terræ Walensis" was Tudur ap Rhys Sais, and that the land lay along the south bank of the Dee. Eyton also suggests (xi, 172) that the "fine de Walis" belonging to the castelry of Montgomery, from which Earl Roger got £6 a year, covered Cydewain land Ceri, districts which must certainly have been in the earl's hands, if, as alleged in the Cheshire Survey, he was in possession of Arwystli.

[2] See the references to Richard in *Brut y Tywysogion* (ed. Rhys and Evans, pp. 282, 284, 291).

The vills around Radnor were, it has been shown, still waste in 1086; the house of Breos had not yet set up its banner in the district.[1] On the Wye, Clifford, one of William's outposts, was still at the time of the Survey the limit of Norman authority, though very soon afterwards Bernard of Neufmarché began that process of conquest which made him in a few years lord of Brycheiniog. The records of St. Peter's abbey at Gloucester give 1088 as the year in which Bernard bestowed on the abbey the church and vill of Glasbury;[2] the place was probably one of his earliest acquisitions, and its dedication to religious uses had perhaps the character of an offering of first fruits. Further south, Walter de Lacy, mentioned by Ordericus[3] as William fitz Osbern's right hand man in the task of keeping down the Welsh, had made some impression upon Ewias, where in 1086 there was, besides William's renovated fortress at Ewias Harold and the castelry attached thereto, a separate Ewias, in which Welshmen rendering swine and honey dwelt, and which was held by Walter's son Roger. Gwent, we have seen, was won for the Normans before Earl William's death: whether it was in his day or later that the Usk was crossed, and a Norman castle set up at Caerleon is uncertain, but at the time of the Survey the settlement was a small one,[4] and I see no

[1] According to P. Marchegay (*Chartes du Prieuré de Monmouth*, 1879), Philip de Breos was at "Raddenoam" when he made a grant, not later than 1096, to the monks of St. Florent near Saumur (p. 14, note). The family thus acquired Radnor within the ten years following the date of *Domesday*.

[2] *Cartulary of St. Peter's*, Rolls edit., i, 80.

[3] iv, 7; ii, 218 of Le Prevost's edition.

[4] "Willelmus de Scolnes tenet octo carucatas terræ in castellaria de CARLION et Turstinus tenet de illo. Ibi habet in dominio unam carucam et tres Walenses lege Walensi uiuentes cum tribus carucis et duos bordarios cum dimidia caruca et reddunt quatuor sextarios

evidence that the conquest of Glamorgan had begun. True, there is some authority for the statement that in 1081 a beginning was made of the building of Cardiff,[1] but, as Iestyn ap Gwrgant did not in all likelihood become supreme in Morgannwg until the death of Caradog ap Gruffydd at Mynydd Carn in that year,[2] we require to allow a little more time for the consolidation of his power than this date, if understood to refer to a Norman settlement, would give us. On the whole, it is to the reign of Rufus we must look for the decisive advance here, as in Brycheiniog.

It is difficult to avoid the conclusion that the Conqueror, after the fall of Earl Roger of Hereford, gave no great encouragement to raids upon South Wales. He had no wish, perhaps, to see the barons of the Southern march grow powerful, seated as they were within striking distance of London. In 1081 he himself led an army into Dyfed, with what purpose is not very clear, for the artless suggestion of the St. David's chronicler, that he was solely moved

mellis. Ibi duo serui et una ancilla" (Herefordshire). It is not clear whether the six carucates held by Turstin "ultra huscham" (Gloucestershire) are the same.

[1] *Annals of Margam.* The notice is copied into the chronicle printed in *Archæologia Cambrensis*, third ser., vol. viii, p. 273, and, in a slightly altered form, into *Brenhinoedd y Saeson.*

[2] Iestyn, it has been already shown, is a subordinate witness to a grant made by "Caratocvs rex morcannuc", *i.e.*, Caradog ap Gruffydd, about 1080 (*Lib. Land.*, p. 273). Another, and no doubt later document shows us "Gistinus filius gurcant" as surrounded by a "familia" or "teulu" of the usual princely pattern, which is strong enough to do violence to the sanctity of the church of Llandaff, and for the misdeeds of which Iestyn has to make amends in the traditional manner, by the gift of an estate (*Lib. Land.*, 271-2). This is, in order of time, the last grant in the book; the Norman invaders bestowed no gifts on Llandaff, but, on the contrary, so despoiled the see that its twenty-four canons were reduced to two (*Ibid.*, 88).

by the desire to pay his respects to the relics of the great saint,[1] will not impose upon any one who remembers how practical a person William was. It may, however, be conjectured that an agreement was then arrived at with Rhys ap Tewdwr which secured the Southern prince from Norman attacks as long as the Conqueror lived, and had some force even during the early years of the reign of Rufus. In the Herefordshire Survey we find a certain "Riset de Wales" paying a render of £40 to the king. Remembering that this was just the sum paid by Robert of Rhuddlan for "Nortwales" or Gwynedd, one is very ready to believe that we have here the ferm paid by Rhys ap Tewdwr for his kingdom of Deheubarth. In addition, forty shillings were due from him, beyond the ferm, for the district of "Calcebuef", a name which, whatever its precise meaning, has as one element, I believe, that of the cantref of Buallt (styled Buell in the *Liber Landavensis*). Buallt, be it remembered, was no part of the realm of Deheubarth, but had its own line of princes, descended from Elstan Glodrydd, the ruler of "Rhwng Gwy a Hafren".[2] These entries may explain why Rhys ap Tewdwr had to contend with none but domestic foes until 1093, when he met his death at the hands of the Norman settlers of Brycheiniog. Bernard and his followers had, indeed, about 1088 attacked the region of Talgarth, but this probably meant, not that the agreement came to an end in 1087, but that Rufus was less strict in enforcing it upon the marcher lords of the South, now busily preparing for the great forward movement of the latter part of the reign. It is the year 1093 which marks the definite beginning of that movement. Rhys was slain about the 20th of April; "about July 1st",

[1] "Orationis causa."

[2] See note to year 1077 in Appendix.

we read, "the French for the first time held Dyfed and Ceredigion and set castles therein, and thereafter they took possession of the whole of the land of the Britons." When the great chieftain fell, there fell with him, so ran the original of the *Bruts*, "regnum Britonum" (or "Britanniæ"),[1] or, as Florence of Worcester puts it in the same connection—"from that day kings (reges) ceased to rule in Wales". The remark is meaningless, if we take a wide survey of the history of Wales, for the title of king was frequently given in later ages to Welsh princes; but made by contemporaries, with no knowledge of the future course of affairs among the Welsh, it meant that the last of the great chiefs whose position was formally recognized by the English crown had disappeared, and that henceforth no regal rights were deemed to exist in Wales. The field was open for the knightly adventurer.

[1] "Teyrnas y brytanyeit", *Brut y Tywysogion*, ed. Rhys and Evans, p. 270; "brenhiniaeth Kymre", *Brenhinoedd y Saeson*. "Britones" and "Britanni", translated "brytanyeit" in the Welsh texts, are the regular words for "Welsh" in our chronicles until about 1135.

APPENDIX.

THE TEXT OF MSS. B AND C OF "ANNALES CAMBRIÆ" FOR THE PERIOD 1035—1093, IN PARALLEL COLUMNS.

The primary authority for the internal history of Wales during this period is the Latin chronicle, originally written up from year to year at St. David's, which is now represented by the sets of Welsh Annals in Cottonian MS. Domitian i and the Record Office MS. entitled the *Breviate of Domesday*.[1] The former is MS. C, the latter MS. B of *Annales Cambriæ*, as edited for the Rolls Series in 1860. It has been pointed out by Mr. Phillimore (whose text of MS. A[2] in vol. ix of *Y Cymmrodor* gives the student all he can desire) that the plan of the Rolls edition is one which makes it very difficult to form a proper conception of the evidence furnished by the various MSS., and that there are many errors in the printed text.[3] I have thought it might be useful, therefore, to print here in parallel columns, as a supplement to the foregoing paper, the portions of the two MSS. which cover the period under discussion. Italic letters represent expanded contractions; in other respects the MSS. are followed line for line and letter for letter. In the notes, *Brenhinoedd y Saeson* is, for convenience of reference, included in the term "Bruts."

[1] The official description is "Q.R. Miscellaneous Books, vol. i."

[2] MS. A records nothing after 954 and therefore does not here concern us.

[3] *Y Cymmrodor*, vol. xi, pp. 142-8.

Breviate of Domesday (fly leaves)=MS. B.
Page 11, column 3 (line 6).

Ann*us* Maredut f*ilius* edwíní a fi
líís conaní occis*us* e*st*. Caradauc
fili*us* Rederch ab anglís occis*us* e*st*
Cnut fili*us* Swein rex anglo*rum* o*biit*
Ann*us*
Ann*us*
Ann*us*
Ann*us* Grifín*us* fílí*us* lewelın i*n* noɪ
wallıa regnare ínchoau*it*. quí
du*m*[1] regnau*it* anglos *et* gentıles
p*er*secut*us* e*st*. bellu*m* ín uado crucís
sup*er* sabr*in*a*m* cu*m* eís co*m*misít eos
q*ue* deuıcít. Eode*m* anno dextr*a*les
rexít br*ı*tones *et* hoelu*m* filiu*m* edwíni
ab ea expulít
Annus Erwỳn epı*scopus* meneu*ıe* ob*iit*
Ann*us* bellu*m* pencadeír ín q*uo* gr*i*fin*us*
sup*er*auít hoelu*m*.
Ann*us* bellu*m* pulldỳwach ín quo
hoelus victoɪ fuít Grifin*us* capt*us*
capt*us*[2] e*st* a gentılıbu*s* dulín
Ann*us* hoelus fili*us* owein ob*iit*
Ann*us* hoelus fili*us* etwıní accepta
claſſe gentilium ínt*r*at hostium tewỳ
quem Grifin*us* fili*us* lewelín bello
ſuſcepit eu*m*q*ue* u*ersum* clade suo*rum* occid*it*

[1] Patched. [2] *Sic* in MS.

Cottonian MS. Domitian i=MS. C.
Fo. 141b, column 2 (line 23).

Annus. Maredut filius eduyn a filiis kenan occiditur. Cradauc filius rederch ab anglicis occiditur. Cnut filius sveyn rex anglorum moritur.

Annus. Annus. Annus. Annus. Gentiles tenuerunt meuric filius howel. Iacob rex uenedocie occiditur. pro quo Grifutableuuelin regnauit. et houuel filius eduyn expulit.

Annus. Herdín episcopus menevie moritur
Annus. Bellum pencadeir. in quo Gri fud uictor fuit. Eodem anno grifud captus fuít a gentilibus dulyn.[1]

Annus. Annus Houuel filius eduyn
[accepta íngenti classe][2]
acceptis. xx. nauibus gentilium coronatus est. et cepit desolare cambriam. cuí obuiauit grifud filius lewelín

[*End of column and page.*]

[1] The Cottonian MS. has here, through "like ending", run two years into one.

[2] These three words are an interlineation.

Brev. Domesd. (B).
Page 11, column 3 continued.

Annus Ioseph episcopus landauensis rome obiit
Annus
Annus familia grifini ad modum. c^{m}.
xl dolo optimatum stratewi cecidit
in cuius vindicta rex Grifinus deme
ciam et stratewi deuastauit. Nix cecidit
et durauit a kalendis ianuarii usque
ad festum sancti patricii quam apellauerunt
Annus magnam niuem
Annus tota dextralis patria deserta est

Annus
Annus
Annus claſſis hiberníe ín dextrali parte períit
Annus
Annus
Annus
Annus Grifinus filius Riderch occidít

Dom. i (C).
Fo. 143a, column 1.[1]

*et com*míſſo bello i*n* oſtio teẏuí c*um* mag-
na p*ar*te exercit*us* ſui howel cecidit.
Grifud aut*em* uictoꝛ fuit.
Ann*us*. Sedicıo magna oꝛta fuít
ınter gr*ı*fud f*ılius* lewelín *et* gr*ı*f*ud* f*ilius* rederc.

Ann*us*. Ann*us*. ſimılía gr*ı*fud admo-
d*um*. cxl. dolo optímatu*m*. ſtratewẏ
et dẏuet.[2] Annuſ.

Ann*us*. H*oc* anno tota dext*ra*li*s* pat*ri*a
deſ*er*ta e*st* metu gentiliu*m*

Ann*us*. Ann*us*. Ann*us*. Claſſis ẏ-
b*er*nıe p*er*it i*n* dext*ra*lı p*ar*te ca*m*brıe.[3]

Ann*us*. Ann*us*. Ann*us*. Ann*us*. G*ri*

[1] Folio 142 is one of the interposed leaves—see preface to Rolls edit. of *Annales Cambriæ*, p. xxviii.

[2] Here again the scribe's eye has misled him, so that two sentences have been telescoped into one meaningless mass.

[3] I cannot account for the "prædavit" of the Rolls editor (page 25) and of *Monumenta Hist. Br.*, page 840. For the "pergilaud" of the Myvyrian text of *Brenhinoedd y Saeson* (Denbigh edit., p. 663) read "peryglaud" (Cleopatra B. v, fo. 128*b*).

Brev. Domesd. (B).
Page 11, column 3 continued.

et herefoꝛdıam uaſtauít[1]

[*End of column and page.*]

Page 12, column 1.

Ann*us* Magn*us* filius haraldı
vaſtauit regionem anglo*rum*. aux
iliante. g*r*ıfíno rege Bꝛítonu*m*.
Ann*us* owín*us* filius Grıfíní ob*iit*
Ann*us*
Ann*us*
Ann*us*
An*nus* Grıfin*us* f*ilius* lewelíni rex b*r*ıto
nu*m* nobiliſſim*us* dolo suo*rum* occis*us* e*st*.
Ann*us*[3] Ioseph Meneu*ie* ep*iscopus* ob*iit*
Ann*us*
Ann*us*
Ann*us*
An*nus* Harald*us* gotho*rum* rex anglos
conat*ur* s*ibi* s*u*biugare q*ue*m ali*us* haral
d*us* fili*us* Gotwíní repentíno bello
excep*it* *et* occidít ip*su*m aut*em* p*ro* habita
víctoꝛía gl*or*ıant*em* Wıll*elmus* baſtard noꝛ

[1] There is at this point a good deal amiss in both MSS. In the first place, the writer of MS. B has jumbled together the names of the two Gruffydds, and run two annals into one. In the second place, the death of Gruffydd ap Rhydderch and the sack of Hereford are assigned by MS. C and presumably by the original of MS. B to two different years (1056 and 1057), whereas, if we accept the evidence of the various *Bruts*, both belong to the year 1056. That B and C had a common source different from and (at least in places) inferior in authority to the Latin original of the *Bruts*, appears from the fact that the two MSS. have in exactly the same place (events of

Dom. i (C).
Fo. 143a, column 1 continued.

fut *filius* leuuelín interfecit *grifud*
filius rederch.[1]
Ann*us*. deſtructio hereford a *grifud*.

Ann*us*. filius[2] harold uastauit re-
gioneſ anglie auxiliante ei *gri-*
fud b*r*itonum rege.
Ann*us*. Oweín *filius grifud* mo*ritur*.

Ann*us*. Ann*us*. Ann*us*. Ann*us*. Gri-
fut *filius* leuuelín b*r*iton*um* rex cecid*it*.
Ioſeph ep*iscopus* men*evie* mo*r*it*ur*.

Ann*us*. Ann*us*. Ann*us*. Ann*us*. Ha-
rold*us* rex gotho*rum* *cum* magno exer-
citu *in*uaſit regioneſ anglie.
cuí obuíauít ali*us* harold*us* *filius* Got-
wín *et* eum *in*terfec*it*. Sed iterum ſuperue-

1151-3) a hiatus of which the *Bruts* show no trace. Lastly, the *Bruts* themselves are in error in ascribing the sack of Hereford to the year 1056, for the evidence of their common original, however good in the main, can hardly stand against the consensus of three of the Saxon Chronicles, placing the event in 1055.

[2] The writer of C no doubt took "Magnus" to be an otiose adjective!

[3] This "annus" is a mistake. The *Bruts* support MS. C in the matter.

Brev. Domesd. (B).
Page 12, column 1 continued.

mannorum dux anglíe regno priuauit[1]
Annus
Annus
Annus bellum Mecheín inter filios ken
wín. scilicet. bledín et Ruallo et filios
grifíní. scilicet. Maredut et Idwal ín quo
filíí Grifíní ceciderunt. Idwal bello
Maredut frigoie. Ruallo etiam filius
kenwín occisus est. bledín in regnum suc
Annus ceſſít
Annus Maredut filíus owíní a francis occisus est

Annus Meneuia vaſtata est a gentí
libus et bangor similiter. bleiduth episcopus
meneuíe obiit. Sulgenl° episcopatui successit

Annus. de Mungumeri hugo. vaſtat
Annus[2] karedigiaun.
Annus bledínt filius kenwín dolo
ducum[3]. ſtratewỳ a reso fílío owíní occiditur.

[1] Not only in MSS. B and C, but also in the Latin original of the *Brutś* (see MS. C of *Brut y Tywysogion* as cited in the Rolls edition, p. 44), the events of 1066 are assigned to 1067.

[2] Again a mistake; cf. Rolls edition of *Brut y Tywysogion*.

[3] *Brut y Tywysogion* shows that the original chronicle had both descriptions—"drwy dwyll dryc ysprytolyon pennaetheu ac uchelwyr ystrat tywi," (*Red Book of Hergest*, ed. Rhŷs and Evans, vol. ii, p. 268).

Dom. i (C).
Fo. 143a, column 1 continued.

nít Will*elmus* qu*i*da*m* noꝛma*n*no*rum* dux.
et harold*um* anglo*rum* rege*m* uita *et*
regno pꝛíuauit.
Ann*us*. Ann*us*. Ann*us*. methei*n* i*n*te*r*
filioſ cínϭín. i*d est*. bledẏn *et* rual-
laun *et* filioſ g*ri*fut. i*d est* maredut
et idwal i*n* bello.[1] Maredut f*ri*go-
re. i*n* quo *etiam* bello ruallaun occi-
dit*ur*. bledín aut*em* regnauít.

Ann*us*. Ann*us*. Maredut f*ilius* o-
wein a cradauc f*ilius* g*ri*ffud *et* a

[*Column ends.*]

Fo. 143a, column 2.

franciſ occ*iditur* ſ*uper* ripam remnẏ. Di-
ermíd ſcoto*rum* rex i*n* bello occidit*ur*.[2]
Ann*us*. franci uaſtau*erunt* keredí-
giaun. Meneuia uaſtat*ur* a ge*n*ti-
lib*us*. *et* bangoꝛ ſímíliter. Bledud
ep*iscopus* mene*uie* moꝛ*itur*. Sulgeni*us* ep*iscopa*-
tum accepit.
Ann*us*. f*ra*nci i*terum* uaſtau*erunt* keredig*iaun*

Ann*us*. Bledín f*ilius* ke*n*uín dolo
malignor*um*[3] ho*minum* de eſt*ra*tewẏ

[1] Another confused entry, explained without difficulty when we have the text of MS. B before us.

[2] Dermot, son of Mael-na-mbo, King of Leinster, was, according to the contemporary chronicle of Tigernach, slain in battle in 1072 (*Revue Celtique*, vol. xvii, 4).

Brev. Domesd. (B).
Page 12, column 1 continued.

Annus Riderch filius caradauc occiditur.

Annus bellum Guínnítul inter filios cad
dugon. Goronuí *et* lewelín *et* resum
filium owíní *et* ab eo victi sunt.[1]
Annus bellum pullgudíc ín quo tra
hern rex Norwallíe victor fuít
Resus *et* hoelus frater eius a trahaírn
filio caraduc occisus est

Annus filíus teudur. resus.
regnare inchoauit [ta est
Annus Meneuia a gentilibus vaſta-

[1] Goronwy and Llywelyn were not, as has been sometimes assumed (*e.g.* by Powel, by the compiler of *Brut Aberpergwm*, and by Meyrick in his *History of Cardiganshire*), sons of Cadwgan ap Bleddyn, but of Cadwgan ab Elstan Glodrydd. See the pedigrees from Jesus Coll. MS. 20, printed in *Y Cymmrodor*, vol. viii, where both Goronwy and Llywelyn appear (p. 88) and the latter is said to be "o vuellt". Both battles (see 1075 above) were no doubt fought on the confines of Buallt and Ceredigion, where the Camddwr is, in fact, still known as a tributary of the Towy.

Dom. i (C).
Fo. 148a, column 2 continued.

a reſ *filius* oweín occ*iditur*. cuí ſucceſ-
ſit *tra*harín *filius* cradauc ei*us con*ſobri-
n*us* regnu*m* uenedocie t*antum* tenen*s*
S*ed* reſ *et* rederch *filius* cradauc dext*ra*
le*m* br*i*tan*n*ia*m* ha*b*uerun*t*. Gr*i*fud aut*em*
nepoſ iacob n*on* obsedit bellum[1]
cam*d*ubr i*nter* filioſ Kadugaun *et*
i*nter* reſ *et* rederch q*ui* uictor*e*ſ fu*erunt*
Ann*us*. Rederch f*ilius* cradauc dolo
occid*itur* a *con*ſobrino ſuo meirchaun.
Ann*us*. Bell*um* i*nter* filioſ kadugaun
i*d est* lewelín *et* gronoui. *et* i*nter* reſ fi*lium*
owein qui i*terum* uicti ſunt.
Ann*us*. Bell*um* pullgudic i*n* q*uo* tra-
harn rex venedocie uictor fuit.
et tota familia reſ cecidit. In
fine u*e*ro h*uius* anni reſ *et* howel ei*us*
fr*ater* a cradauc f*ilius* gr*i*fud occidu*ntur*.
Sulgen*us* epi*scop*atum deſerit. Et abr*a*
ham accepit. [nare
Ann*us*. Reſ. f*ilius* teudur i*n*cep*it* reg-

Ann*us*. Meneuia a ge*n*tilib*us* uaſ-
tat*ur*. Et abr*a*ha*m* a ge*n*tilib*us* occi
d*itur*. Sulgen*us* i*terum* epi*scop*atum accepit.

[1] See note on page 154.

Brev. Domesd. (B).
Page 12, column 1 continued.

Ann*us*. bellu*m* montís carn ín quo

[*Column ends.*]

Page 12, column 2.

traharn filíus carad[auc][1] *et* cara
dauc filíus G[rıfin]i *et* Meıler fılı*us*
Ruallan a reso fılıo [teu]dur *et*
a g*r*ifino fılıo conaní occ*ısi sunt*. Gur

geneu filíus Seısıl occ*ısus est*. Will*elmus*
rex anglíe c*ausa* o*ratıonıs sanctum dauıd* ad
Annus iuit
Annus
Annus
Annus Sulgenı*us* epı*scopatum* relıquı*t* cuí
Annus fre[2] succe*ssit*
Ann*us* Will*elmus* baſtard obíít cuí suc
ceſtís filıus suu*s* W. Rufus.
Ann*us* res*us* fili*us* teudur a regno
suo expuls*us est* a filíís bledínt. sc*ilicet*.
Madauc. cadugan. *et* Rırít. Res*us*
vero ex hiber*n*ıa claſſem duxı*t et* reue*r*
títur. bellu*m* cu*m* illı*s* geſſít ín pen
llecheru ín q*uo* madouc *et* rırít ceci*derunt*

[1] A stain on the upper part of page 12 makes it difficult to read some of the words at the top of this column and column 3. The readings in square brackets must therefore be regarded as conjectural.

[2] The copyist was probably unable to read the first part of the name of Wilfre.

Dom. i (C).
Fo. 143a, column 2 continued.

Annus Bellum montiſ carn in quo

tralhärn filius cradauc et cradauc filius gri
fud et meilír filius ruallaun et
reſ filius teudur. et grifud filius eỳ
naun filius iacob occiduntur. Willelmus

[*End of column and page.*][1]

Fo. 143b, column 1.

rex anglie ad ſanctum dauid oratoniſ causa
perrexit. Annus. Annus. Annuſ.[2]

Annus rex[3] ſcotorum moritur.
Annus. Willelmus rex obíit cuí ſuc-
ceſſit edrich frater et ipse Willelmus.[4]
Annus. Reſ filius teudur de regno
ſuo expellitur a filíis bledit. id est. ma-
dauc. cadugaun. et rỳrid. Ipse
uero ỳberniam adíit. et claſſe accep-
ta reuertitur in britanniam. Bellum pen-
lethereu geritur in quo duo filíj ble-

[1] At the bottom of this column, in a hand quite different from that of the main text, is the following note :—
Annus domini. M.lxxxij. quo anno Reſ filius
teudur dedit terram de penbidiauc eccleſie
ſancti dauid

[2] One "annus" has dropped out here.

[3] A blank has been left for the name of the king, who, it appears from *Brenhinoedd y Saeson*, was Torlogh O'Brien. The date (1086) is right.

[4] The margin has (in the same hand as the text) eirif, so that what the scribe had before him was possibly "eiuf filius".

Brev. Domesd. (B).
Page 12, column 2 continued.

Annus archa sancti dauid ab ecclesia fura
ta est et auro argento que quibus tege-
Annus batur spoliata est.

Annus Meneuia fracta est a gentilibus ín
sularum. kedíuor filius gollwín[1] obiit
Cuius filíí ínuítauerunt Grifínum filíum
Maredut. quem resus filius teudur
expugnauit et occidit iuxta llandedoc.
Annus
Annus Resus filius teudur rector dex
tralís partís a francís brechínauc. occisus est.
post cuius obitum Cadugaun filius bledínt
predatus est demeciam pridie kalendas may.
Circiter kalendas Iulíí francí primitus deme
ciam et keredigean tenuerunt et
caſtella in eís locauerunt et abínde
totam terram britonum occupauerunt
Mailcholum scottorum rex occisus eſt.

[1] The contraction for er placed over the w of this word is clearly due to some slip of the pen.